most serviceable were retained by the clans which were hostile to government. An armed vessel was stationed on Lochness, to command the shores of that extensive lake. Barracks were rebuilt in some places, founded anew in others, and filled with regular soldiers.

Another measure of very dubious utility, which had been resorted to by King William and disused by George I., was now again had recourse to. This was the establishment of independent companies to secure the peace of the Highlands, and suppress the gangs of thieves who carried on so bold a trade of depredation. These companies, consisting of Highlanders, dressed and armed in their own peculiar manner, were placed under the command of men well affected to government, or supposed to be so, and having a great interest in the Highlands. It was truly said, that such a militia, knowing the language and manners of the country, could do more than ten times the number of regular troops to put a stop

to robbery. But, on the other hand, it had been found by experience, that the privates in such corps often, from clanship or other motives, connived at the thefts, or compounded for them with the delinquents. Their officers were accused of imposing upon government by false musters; and above all, the doubtful faith even of those chiefs who made the strongest show of affection to government, rendered the re-establishment of Black soldiers, as they were called, to distinguish them from the regular troops, who wore the red national uniform, a measure of precarious policy. It was resorted to, however, and six companies were raised on this principle.

Marshal Wade had also the power of receiving submission and granting protections to outlaws or others exposed to punishment for the late rebellion, and received many of them into the King's peace accordingly. He granted, besides, licenses to drovers, foresters, dealers in cattle, and others en-

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I HAVE delayed till this point in the Scottish history some attempt to investigate the causes and conduct of the Rebellion, and to explain, if possible, the supineness of the Insurgent General and Chiefs, who, having engaged in an attempt so desperate,

and raised forces so considerable, should yet, after the lapse of two months, have advanced little farther in their enterprise than they had done in the first week after its commencement.

If we review the Earl of Mar's conduct from beginning to end, we are led to the conclusion, that the insurrection of 1715 was as hastily as rashly undertaken. It does not appear that Mar was in communication on the subject with the court of the Chevalier de St George previous to Queen Anne's death. That event found him at liberty to recommend himself to the favour of King George, and show his influence with the Highland chiefs by procuring an address of adhesion from them, of a tenor as loyal as his own. These offers of service being rejected, as we have already said, in a harsh and an affronting manner, made the fallen minister conclude that his ruin was determined on; and his private resentment, which, in other circumstances, would have fallen to the ground ineffectual and harmless, lighted unhappily amongst those combustibles, which

the general adherence to the exiled family had prepared in Scotland.

When Mar arrived in Fifeshire from London, it was reported that he was possessed of L.100,000 in money,—instructions from the Pretender, under his own hand, and a commission appointing him Lieutenant-General, and Commander-in-Chief of his Forces in Scotland. But though these rumours were scattered in the public ear, better accounts allege, that in the commencement of the undertaking, Mar did not pretend to assume any authority over the other noblemen of his own rank, or produce any other token from the Chevalier de St George, than his portrait. A good deal of pains were taken to parade a strong-box, said to enclose a considerable sum of money, belonging to the Earl of Mar; but it was not believed to contain treasure to the amount of more than L.3000, if, indeed, it held so much. As to the important point of a General to command in chief, the scheme, when originally contemplated at the Court of St Germains, turned upon the

Duke of Ormond's landing in England, and the Duke of Berwick in Scotland, whose well-known talents were to direct the whole affair. After commencing his insurrection, there can be little doubt that Mar did the utmost, by his agents in Lorraine, to engage the favourable opinion of the Chevalier; and the unexpected success of his enterprise, so far as it had gone, and the great power he had been able to assemble, were well calculated to recommend him to confidence. In the meantime, it was necessary there should be a General to execute the duties of the office *ad interim*. Mar offered, as I have told you, the command to the Duke of Athole, who refused to be connected with the affair. Huntly, from his power and rank in possession and expectation, might have claimed the supreme authority, but his religion was an obstacle. Seaforth lay distant, and was late in coming up. The claims of these great nobles being set aside, there was nothing so natural as that Mar himself should assume the command of an insurrection, which would

never have existed without his instigation. He was acceptable to the Highlanders, as having been the channel through which the bounty of the late Queen Anne had been transmitted to them; and had also partisans, from his liberality to certain of the Lowland nobles who had joined him, whose estates and revenues were not adequate to their rank, a circumstance which might be no small cause for their rushing into so ruinous an undertaking. Thus Mar assumed the general's truncheon which chance offered to his hand, because there was no other who could pretend to it.

Like most persons in his situation, he was not inclined to distrust his own capacity for using to advantage the power which he had almost fortuitously become possessed of; or, if he nourished any doubt upon this subject, he might consider his military charge to be but temporary, since, from the whole tenor of his conduct, it appears he expected from France some person whose trade had been war, and to whom he might with honour resign his office. Such an expectation may account for the care

with which the Jacobite commander abstained from offensive operations, and for his anxious desire to augment his army to the highest point, rather than to adventure it upon the most promising enterprise.

It is probable Mar was encouraged to persevere in his military authority, in which he must have met with some embarrassment, when he found himself confirmed in it by Ogilvie of Boyne, an especial messenger from the Chevalier de St George, who, greatly flattered by the favourable state of affairs in Scotland, conferred upon the Earl of Mar in form, that command, which he had so long exercised in point of fact, and it was said, brought a patent, raising him to the dignity of Duke of Mar. Of the last honour, little was known, but the commission of Mar as General was read at the head of every corps engaged in the insurrection.

It might be matter of wonder that the vessel which brought over Mr Ogilvie, the bearer of this commission, had not been freighted with men, money, or provisions. The reason appears to have been, that the Chevalier de St George had previously ex-

pended all the funds he could himself command, or which he could borrow from foreign courts favourable to his title, in equipping a considerable number of vessels designed to sail from Havre-de-Grace and Dieppe, with large quantities of arms and ammunition. But the Earl of Stair, having speedily discovered the destination of these supplies, remonstrated with the Court of France upon proceedings so inconsistent with the treaty of Utrecht; and Sir George Byng, with a squadron of men-of-war, blockaded the ports of France, with the purpose of attacking the vessels if they should put to sea. The Regent Duke of Orleans immediately gave orders to the inspectors of naval affairs to prevent the arming and sailing of the vessels intended for the service of the Chevalier de St George. Thus the supplies designed for the insurgents were intercepted, and the whole expense which had been laid out upon the projected expedition was entirely lost. This affords a satisfactory reason why the exiled Prince could send little to his partisans in Scot-

land, unless in the shape of fair words and commissions.

In the meantime, the Earl of Mar, and the nobles and gentlemen embarked in his enterprise, although disappointed in these sanguine expectations under which it had been undertaken, and in finding that the death of Louis XIV., and the prudence of his successor in power, would deprive them of all hopes of foreign assistance, were yet desirous to receive that species of encouragement which might be derived from seeing the Chevalier de St George himself at the head of the army, which they had drawn together in his name and quarrel. An address, therefore, was made to King James VIII., as he was termed, praying him to repair to Scotland, and to encourage, by his personal presence, the flame of loyalty, which was represented as breaking out in every part of that kingdom, pledging the lives and honour of the subscribers for his personal security, and insisting on the favourable effect likely to be produced upon their undertaking, by his placing himself at its head.

Another address was drawn up to the Regent Duke of Orleans, praying him, if he was not pleased to aid the heir of the House of Stewart at this crisis of his fate, that he would at least permit him to return to his own country, to share the fate of his trusty adherents who were in arms in his behalf. This paper had rather an extraordinary turn, sounding as if the Chevalier de St George had been in prison, and the Regent of France the keeper of the key. The addresses, however, were subscribed by all the men of quality at Perth, though great was the resentment of these proud hidalgos, to find that the king's printer, Mr Robert Freebairn, was permitted to sign along with them. The papers were, after having been signed, intrusted to the care of the Honourable Major Hay, having as his secretary the historian Dr Abercromby, with charge to wait upon the Chevalier at the Court of Lorraine, or where he might happen to be, and urge the desire of the subscribers. The choice of the ambassador, and the secrecy which was observed on the sub-

ject of his commission, were regarded as deserving censure by those in the army who conceived that, the general welfare being concerned in the measures to be adopted, they had some right to be acquainted with the mode in which the negotiation was to proceed. Mar afterwards dispatched two additional envoys on the same errand; the first was Sir Alexander Erskine of Alva, who was wrecked on his return; the second, an agent of considerable acuteness, named Charles Forbes.

The Earl of Mar had not ascended to the pitch of power which he now enjoyed, without experiencing the usual share of ill-will and unfavourable construction. The Master of Sinclair, a man of a temper equally shrewd and severe, had from the beginning shown himself dissatisfied with the management of the insurrection, and appears, like many men of the same disposition, to have been much more ready to remark and censure errors than to assist in retrieving them. The Earl of Huntly seems also to have been disobliged by Mar, and to have looked on him

with dislike, or suspicion; nor were the Highlanders entirely disposed to trust him as their General. When Glengarry, one of their ablest chiefs, joined the army at Perth, he was anxious that the western clans should keep separate from those first assembled at Perth, and act in conjunction with the forces of the Earl of Huntly; and it was proposed to Sinclair to join in this sort of association, by which the army would in fact have been effectually separated into two parts. Glengarry, however, was dissuaded from this secession; and although it is intimated, that in order to induce him to abandon his design, the arguments arising from good cheer and good fellowship were freely resorted to, it is not the less true, that his returning to the duty of a soldier was an act of sober reason.

The Earl of Mar, amidst his other duties, having a wish to prepare a place of arms for the residence of the Chevalier de St George on his expected arrival, made an at-

tempt to cover Perth by fortifications, so as to place it out of danger from a *coup-de-main.* General Hamilton attended to this duty for a short time; but afterwards it was almost entirely given up to the direction of a Frenchman, who had been a dancing and fencing-master, and whose lines of defence furnished much amusement to the English engineers, who afterwards became possessed of them.

Before resuming the narrative, I may tell you, that in this same eventful month of October, when there were so many military movements in Scotland, the Duke of Ormond was dispatched by the Chevalier de St George, with arms and ammunition, and directions to land on the coast of England. Three cannon were fired as a signal to the Jacobites, who were expected to flock in numbers to the shore, the name of Ormond being then most popular among them. But the signals not being answered, the vessel bore off, and returned to France. Had the Duke landed, the Jacobite party would have been in the singular

predicament of having a General in England without an army, and an army in Scotland without an effective General.

We now approach the catastrophe of these intestine commotions; for the Earl of Mar had by the beginning of November received all the reinforcements which he had to expect, though it may be doubted whether he had rendered his task of forcing or turning the Duke of Argyle's position more easy, or his own army much stronger, by the time he had spent in inactivity. His numbers were indeed augmented, but so were those of the Duke; so that the armies bore the same proportion to each other as before. This was a disadvantage to the Highlanders; for where a contest is to take place betwixt undisciplined energy and the steadiness of regular troops, the latter must always attain superiority in proportion as their numbers in the field increase, and render the day likely to be decided by manœuvres. Besides this, the army of Mar sustained a very great loss by desertion during the time he lay at Perth. The High-

landers, with the impatience and indolence of a half-civilized people, grew weary alike of remaining idle, and of being employed in the labour of fortification, or the dull details of ordinary parade exercise. Many also went home for the purpose of placing in safety their accumulation of pay, and what booty they had been able to find in the Lowlands. Such desertions were deemed by the clans to be perfectly in rule, and even the authority of the chiefs was inadequate to prevent them.

Neither do the plans of the Earl of Mar seem to have been more distinctly settled, when he finally determined on the important step of making a movement in advance. It seems to have been given out, that he was to make three feigned attacks upon the Duke's army at one and the same time —namely, one upon the Long Causeway and Stirling Bridge; another at the Abbey Ford, a mile below Stirling; and a third at the Drip-coble, a ford a mile and a half above that town. By appearing on so many points at once, Mar might hope to occupy

the Duke's attention so effectually, as to cross the river with his main body at the fords of Forth. But, as the Duke of Argyle did not give his opponent time to make these movements, it cannot be known whether Mar actually contemplated them.

It is, however, certain that the Earl of Mar entertained the general purpose of reaching, if possible, the fords of Forth, where that river issues out of Loch Hard, and thus passing over to the southern side. To reach this part of the river, required a march of two days through a hilly and barren country. Nor were Mar and his advisers well acquainted with the road, and they had no other guide but the celebrated freebooter, Rob Roy MacGregor, who they themselves said was not to be trusted, and who, in point of fact, was in constant communication with his patron, the Duke of Argyle, to whom he sent intelligence of Mar's motions. It was said, too, that this outlaw only knew the fords from having passed them with Highland cattle—a different thing, certainly, from being ac-

quainted with them in a military point of view. It was probably, however, with a view to the information which Rob Roy could give on this point, that Mar, in a letter of the 4th of November, complains of that celebrated outlaw for not having come to Perth, where he wished much to have a meeting with him.

But if Mar and his military council had known the fords of Forth accurately, still it was doubtful in what situation they might find the passes when they arrived there. They might have been fortified and defended by the Duke of Argyle, or a detachment of his army; or they might be impassable at this advanced season of the year, for they are at all times of a deep and impracticable character. Last of all, before they could reach the heads of the Forth, Mar and his army must have found the means of crossing the Teith, a river almost as large and deep as the Forth itself, on which Argyle had destroyed the bridge of Doune, which afforded the usual means of passage.

Such were the difficulties in the way

of the insurgents; and they are of a kind which argues a great want of intelligence in a camp which must have contained many persons from Menteith and Lennox, well acquainted with the country through which the Highland army were to pass, and who might have reconnoitred it effectually, notwithstanding the small garrisons of west-country militia and volunteers, which the Duke had placed in Gartartan, and other houses of strength in the neighbourhood of Aberfoil. But it was not the will of Heaven that the insurgents should ever march far enough on their expedition to experience inconveniences from the difficulties we have pointed out; for the Duke of Argyle, though far inferior in force, adopted the soldier-like resolution of drawing out such strength as he had, and interrupting the march of the insurgents by fighting them, before they should have an opportunity of descending upon the Forth. For this purpose, he called in all his garrisons and outposts, and having mustered a main body of not quite four thousand men, he marched

from Stirling towards Dunblane, on the morning of Saturday, the 12th of November.

On the 10th of November, the Earl of Mar had broken up from his quarters at Perth, and advanced to Auchterarder, where the infantry were quartered, while the cavalry found accommodation in the vicinity.

But, during that night, the Highland army suffered in its nominal strength by two considerable desertions. The one was that of the whole clan of Fraser, amounting to four hundred men. They had joined Mar's army very recently, under Fraser of Fraserdale, who had married the heiress of their late chieftain. Just at this crisis, however, the heir-male of the family, the celebrated Fraser of Lovat, arrived in the north, and recalled by his mandate the clan of Fraser from the standards of King James VIII. to transfer them to those of George I. The Frasers, deeming their duty to their chief paramount to that which they owed to either monarch, and recognising the right of the male-heir to command

them in preference to that of the husband of the heir-female, unanimously obeyed the summons of the former, and left the camp, army, and cause in which they were engaged. There will be occasion to mention more of the Frasers hereafter.

The other desertion was that of two hundred of the Earl of Huntly's Highland followers, who complained of having been unjustly overburdened with what is called fatigue-duty. Thus diminished, the army, after having been reviewed by their General, marched off their ground in the following order. The Master of Sinclair with the Fifeshire squadron, and two squadrons of Huntly's cavalry, formed the advance of the whole. The western clans followed, being, first, the MacDonalds, under their different chiefs of Clan Ranald, Glengarry, Sir Donald Mac Donald, Keppoch, and Glencoe. The next were Breadalbane's men, with five regiments, consisting of the following clans: the MacLeans, under Sir John MacLean, their chief; the Camerons, under Lochiel; the Stewarts, commanded

by Appin; and those who remained of Huntly's followers from Strathdon and Glenlivet, under Gordon of Glenbucket. This chosen body of Highlanders were in high spirits, and so confident of success, that they boasted that their division of Mar's army only would be more than enough to deal with the Duke of Argyle, and all the force he commanded. General Gordon was commander of the whole Highland vanguard.

The rest of the army, commanded by Mar in person, with the assistance of General Hamilton, followed the advanced division; and it was settled that the rearguard should march only as far as Ardoch, while the vanguard should push forward as far as the town of Dunblane, where they had quartered on their former march from Perth, eight miles to the west of Ardoch, where the rear was to halt.

The horse, at the head of the first column, were advancing according to their orders, when a lame boy, running as fast as his infirmity would permit him, stated

to the Master of Sinclair, who commanded the advance, that he was sent by the wife of the Laird of Kippendavie, whose husband was in the Jacobite army, to tell the Earl of Mar that the Duke of Argyle was in the act of marching through Dunblane. The news, though the appearance of the messenger excited some doubt, was entitled to be treated with respect. A reconnoitring party was sent forward, an express was dispatched to Mar, who was six or seven miles in the rear, and General Gordon anxiously looked around him to find some strong ground on which to post the men. The river Allan lay in their front, and the Master of Sinclair proposed pushing across, and taking possession of some farm-houses, visible on the opposite side, where the gentlemen might find refreshment, and the horses forage. But General Gordon justly thought that the passing a river at nightfall was a bad preparation for a body of infantry, who were to lie out till morning in the open air, in a hard frost, in the middle of November. At length

the dispute was terminated, on two farm-houses being discovered on the left side of the river, where the horse obtained some accommodation, though in a situation in which they might have been destroyed by a sudden attack, before they could have got out of the enclosures, among which they were penned up like cattle, rather than quartered like soldiers. To guard against such a catastrophe, General Gordon posted advanced guards and videttes, and sent out patrols with the usual military precautions. Soon after they had taken their quarters for the night, Lord Southesk and the Angus-shire cavalry came up, with the intelligence that Mar and the whole main body were following, and the Earl accordingly appeared at the bivouac of the vanguard about nine o'clock at night.

Fresh intelligence came to them from Lady Kippendavie, who seems to have been as correct in her intelligence, and accurate in communicating with the insurgent army, as she was singular in her choice of messengers, this last being an old woman, who

confirmed the tidings of the enemy's approach. The reconnoitring parties, sent forward by Sinclair, came in with news to the same purpose.

The whole of Mar's army being now collected together within a very narrow circumference, slept on their arms, and wrapped in their plaids; feeling less inconvenience from the weather, which was a severe frost, than would probably have been experienced by any other forces in Europe.

By day-break, on Sunday, 13th November, the insurgent army drew up in two lines of battle, on the plain above the place where they had spent the night. They had not long assumed this posture, when they perceived a strong squadron of horse upon an eminence to the south of their lines. This was the Duke of Argyle, who, with some general officers, had taken this post in advance, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position and proceedings. In this he succeeded but imperfectly, on account of the swells and hollows which lay between him and Mar's army.

In the meantime, Mar, after satisfying himself that he was in presence of the enemy, called a council of his nobles, general officers, chiefs of clans, and commanders of corps. He is allowed on this occasion to have made them a most animating speech. It sunk, in part, upon unwilling ears, for there were already several persons of consequence, among whom Huntly and Sinclair seem to have been the leaders, who, despairing of the cause in which they were engaged, were desirous to open a communication with the Duke of Argyle, in order to learn whether he had power to receive their submission, and admit them to pardon on their former footing of living quietly under government. This, however, was only whispered among themselves; for even those who entertained such opinions, were at the same time conscious that the crisis was come, in which they must fight for peace sword-in-hand, and that, by gaining a victory, they might dictate honourable terms; while, if they attempted a retreat, they would be no longer able to keep

their Highland levies together, or to open a negotiation with the air of strength absolutely necessary to command a tolerable capitulation.

When, therefore, the Earl of Mar reminded his military auditors of the injustice done to the royal family, and the oppression of Scotland under the English yoke, and conjured them not to let slip the opportunity which they had so long languished for, but instantly attack the enemy, with that spirit which their cause and their wrongs were calculated to inspire, his words awakened a corresponding energy in the hearers. The Earl of Huntly only asked, whether a battle won would, in their present circumstances, place their rights, and those of their country, within their reach? or, whether there was any hope of foreign aid, to enable them to withstand the arms of England and her allies? "All this," he said, "my Lord of Mar could doubtless inform them of, since he had lately received a letter from Lord Bolingbroke, which he desired might be laid before the council."

The critical circumstances of the moment, and the enthusiasm which had been excited in the assembly, enabled Mar to dispense with attending to questions which he might have found it difficult to answer. Gliding over the interruption given by Huntly, he stated to the council the question, in the words, "Fight, or not?" The chiefs, nobles, and officers, answered, with an universal shout of "Fight;" and their resolution reaching the two lines, as they stood drawn up in order of battle, was welcomed with loud huzzas, tossing up of hats and bonnets, and a cheerfulness, which seemed, even to those who had been before uncertain and doubtful of the issue, a sure presage of speedy victory.

In this state of excited feeling, the army of Mar advanced towards the enemy. The two lines in which they stood upon the moor were broken up each into two columns, so that it was in four columns that they pursued the order of their march, descending the hill which they had first occupied, crossing a morass, which the hard

frost of the night before had rendered passable for cavalry as well as infantry, and ascending the opposite height, from which the Duke of Argyle was observing their movements. The Duke, on his part, as soon as he saw the extremity of Mar's wing wheel to the right, in order to make the movement we have described, immediately comprehended that their purpose was to avail themselves of their superiority of numbers, and attack his small force at once on the left flank, and in front. He rode hastily down the eminence, at the foot of which his force was drawn up, in order at once to get them into such a disposition as might disappoint the object of the enemy, and to lead his troops up the hill. He drew up his little army of about four thousand men, extending his disposition considerably to the right, placing three squadrons of horse on that wing, and as many on the left of his front line; the centre being composed of six battalions of foot. Each wing of horse was supported by a squadron of dragoons. The second line

was composed of two battalions in the centre, with a squadron of dragoons on either wing. In this order, and having his right considerably advanced against the enemy's left, so as to admit of his withdrawing his own left wing from a flank attack, the Duke ascended the hill, seeing nothing of the enemy, who had left the high grounds, and were advancing to meet him on the other side of the same height, which he was in the act of mounting. The Highlanders, as has been already stated, advanced in four columns, marching by their right.

Each column of infantry, four in number, was closed by a body of cavalry, which, when the column should deploy into line, were to take up their ground on the flank. The Highlanders marched, or rather ran, with such eagerness towards the enemy, that the horse were kept at the gallop in the rear. Both armies were thus ascending the hill in column, and met, as it were unexpectedly, upon the top, being in some points within pistol-shot before they were aware of each other's presence. Both, therefore,

endeavoured at the same time to form line-of-battle, and some confusion occurred on either side. In particular, two squadrons of the insurgent cavalry were placed in the centre of the right wing, instead of being stationed on the flank, as had been intended, and as the rules of war required. This discovery, however, was of much less consequence to the Highlanders, whose terrors consisted in the headlong fury of the onset, whilst the strength of the regulars depended on the steadiness of their discipline.

It was at this moment that an old chief, impatient for the command to charge, and seeing the English soldiers getting into order, became enraged at seeing the favourable minute pass away, and made the memorable exclamation, "Oh, for one hour of Dundee!"

The Duke's left wing was commanded by General Whitham, who does not appear to have been distinguished either for courage or conduct. The right of Mar's line was hastily formed, consisting of the western clans, MacDonalds, MacLeans, and the followers

of Breadalbane, when old Captain Livingstone rode up, a veteran soldier, who had served in King James's army before the Revolution, and with several oaths called to General Gordon, who commanded the right wing, instantly to attack. The General hesitated, but the chiefs and clans caught the enthusiasm of the moment. A gentleman, named MacLean, who lived to a great age, thus described the attack of his own tribe; and there can be no doubt that the general onset was made under similar circumstances. When his clan was drawn up in deep order, the best born, bravest, and best armed of the warriors in front,* Sir John MacLean placed himself at their head, and said, with a loud voice, "Gentlemen, this is a day we have long wished to see.

* The very existence of this regiment was an instance of the tenacity of clan attachment. The lands on which they lived in the Isle of Mull were become the property of the Duke of Argyle, and their Chief resided for the most part in France, on an allowance which Queen Anne had assigned him; yet he found no difficulty in raising seven or eight hundred men, in opposition to their actual landlord; so inferior was the feudal claim to the patriarchal.

Yonder stands MacCallanmore for King George—Here stands MacLean for King James.—God bless MacLean and King James!—Charge, gentlemen!"

The clan then muttered a very brief prayer, fixed the bonnet firm on the head, stripped off their plaids, which then comprehended the philabeg also,* and rushed on the enemy, firing their fusees irregularly, then dropping them, and drawing their swords, and uniting in one wild yell, when they mingled among the bayonets. The regular troops on the left received this fierce onset of the mountaineers with a heavy fire, which did considerable execution. Among others who dropped, was the gallant young chief of Clan Ranald, mortally wounded. His fall checked for an instant the impetuosity of his followers, when Glengarry, so often mentioned, started from the ranks, waved his bonnet around his head, exclaiming, "Revenge, revenge! to-day for revenge, and to-

* The Highlanders wore long shirts, which were disposed in a particular manner on such occasions.

morrow for mourning!" The Highlanders, resuming the fury of their attack, mingled with the regulars, forced their line in every direction, broke through them and dispersed them, making great slaughter among men less active than themselves, and loaded with an unwieldy musket, which in individual or irregular strife, has scarce ever been found a match for the broadsword. The extreme left of Argyle's army was thus routed with considerable slaughter, for the Highlanders gave no quarter; but the troops of the centre, under General Wightman, remained unbroken; and it would seem to have been the business of the rebel cavalry to have charged them in the flank or rear, exposed as they must have been by the flight of Whitham and the left wing. Of their cavalry, however, two squadrons, commanded by Drummond and Marischal, went off in pursuit of those whom the Highlanders had scattered; while Lord Huntly's, and that of Fife, under the Master of Sinclair, remained inactive on the field of battle, without engaging at all. It

would seem that they were kept in check by the dragoons of Argyle's second line, who did not fly like the first, but made an orderly retreat in face of the enemy.

On the right wing and centre, the event of the battle was very different. The attack of the Highlanders was as furious as on their right. But their opponents, though a little staggered, stood their ground with admirable resolution, and the Duke of Argyle detached Colonel Cathcart, with a body of horse, to cross a morass, which the frost had rendered passable, and attack the Highlanders on the flank as they advanced to the charge. In this manner their rapid assault was checked and baffled; and although the Camerons, Stewarts, and other clans of high reputation, formed the left wing of Mar's army, yet that, and his whole second line, were put to flight by the masterly movement of the Duke of Argyle, and the steadiness of the troops he commanded. But his situation was very perilous; for as the fugitives consisted of five thousand men, there was every prospect of their rallying

and destroying the Duke's small body, consisting only of five squadrons of horse, supported by Wightman, with three battalions of infantry, who had lately composed the centre of the army. Argyle took the bold determination to press on the fugitives with his utmost vigour, and succeeded in driving them back to the river Allan, where they had quartered the night before. The fugitives made frequent halts, and were as often again attacked and broken. This was particularly remarked of the body of horse who carried James's standard, and was called the Restoration Squadron. The gentlemen composing it made repeated and vigorous attacks, in which they were only broken and borne down by the superior weight of the English cavalry. It was in one of these reiterated charges that the gallant young Earl of Strathmore lost his life, while in vain attempting to rally his Angus-shire regiment. He was slain by a private dragoon, after having had quarter given to him. The Earl of Panmure was also wounded

and made prisoner by the royalists, but was rescued by his brother, Mr Henry Maule.

The field of battle now presented a singular appearance, for the left of both armies were broken and flying, the right of both victorious and in pursuit. But the events of war are of less consequence than the use which is made of them. It does not appear that any attempt was made on the part of Mar to avail himself of his success on the right. General Whitham had indeed resigned the field of battle to his opponents, and from thence fled almost to Stirling bridge. The victorious Highlanders did not take the trouble to pursue them, but having marched across the scene of action, drew up on an eminence, called the Stony Hill of Kippendavie, where they stood in groups with their drawn swords in their hands. One cause of their inactivity at this critical moment may be attributed to having dropped their fire-arms, according to their fashion when about to charge; another, certainly, was the want of active aides-de-camp to transmit orders; and a third, the character

of the Highlanders, who are not always disposed to obedience. This much is certain, that had their victorious right wing pursued in the Duke of Argyle's rear when he advanced towards the river Allan, they must have placed him in the greatest danger, since his utmost exertion was scarce equal to keep the multitude before him in full retreat. It is also stated, that some of the Highlanders showed an unwillingness to fight. This is alleged to have been particularly the case with the celebrated Rob Roy, a dependent, it will be observed, of the Duke of Argyle's, and in the habit, during the whole insurrection, of furnishing him with intelligence from the enemy's camp. A strong party of MacGregors and MacPhersons were under the command of this outlaw, who, when ordered to charge, answered coolly, "If they cannot do it without me, they cannot do it with me." It is said, that a bold man of the Clan Vourigh, called Alister MacPherson, who followed Rob Roy's original profession of a drover, impatient at the inactivity in which they were

detained, drew his sword, and called on the MacPhersons to follow. "Hold, Sandie," said Rob Roy; "were the question about a drove of sheep, you might know something; but as it concerns the leading of men, it is for me to decide."—"Were the question about a drove of Glen-Angus wethers," retorted the MacPherson, "the question with you, Rob, would not be who should be last, but who should be first." This had almost produced a battle betwixt the two champions; but in the meantime, the opportunity of advancing was lost.

The Duke of Argyle having returned back from his pursuit of the enemy's left wing, came in contact with their right, which, victorious as we have intimated, was drawn up on the hill of Kippendavie. Mutual menaces of attack took place, but the combat was renewed on neither side. Both armies showed a disposition to retreat, and Mar, abandoning a part of his artillery, drew back to Auchterarder, and from thence retired to Perth. Both generals claimed the victory, but as Mar abandoned from that

day all thoughts of a movement to the westward, his object must be considered as having been completely defeated; while Argyle attained the fruits of victory in retaining the position by which he defended the Lowlands, and barred against the insurgents every avenue by which they could enter them.

The numbers slain in the battle of Sheriffmuir were considerable. Seven or eight hundred were killed on the side of the rebels, and the royalists must have lost five or six hundred. Much noble and gentle blood was mixed with that of the vulgar. A troop of volunteers, about sixty in number, comprehending the Dukes of Douglas and Roxburghe, the Earls of Haddington, Lauderdale, Loudon, Belhaven, and Rothes, fought bravely, though the policy of risking such a *troupe dorée* might be questionable. At all events, it marked a great change of times, when the Duke of Douglas, whose ancestors could have raised an army as numerous as those of both sides in the field of Sheriffmuir, fought as a private trooper, assisted only by two or three servants. This

body of volunteers behaved in a manner becoming their rank. Many of them were wounded, and the Earl of Forfar was slain.

The loss of the Earl of Strathmore and of the young Clan Ranald, was a severe blow to the Insurrection. The last was a complete soldier, trained in the French Guards, and full of zeal for the cause of James. "My family," he replied to Mar's summons to join him, "have been on such occasions ever wont to be the first on the field, and the last to leave it." When he fell out of the ranks, mortally wounded, Mar met him, and, ignorant of what had happened, demanded why he was not in the front. "I have had my share," said the dying chief, and fell dead before his commander. Many of his men retired from the army in consequence of his death.

Thus began and thus ended a confused affray, of which a contemporary ballad-maker truly says, "there is nothing certain, except that there was actually a battle, which he witnessed."

CHAP. II.

Mar's Retreat to Perth, leaving Argyle Master of the Field—Dissensions among the Troops under Forster and Kenmure—Forster returns to England, and is recognised as General of the Chevalier's Forces there—He marches, with the design of attacking Liverpool, to Preston, where his army is blockaded by General Willis, and, after some opposition, surrenders at discretion—The Prisoners of Rank sent to London—Escape of Forster, MacIntosh, and Hepburn of Keith—Execution of Derwentwater and Kenmure—Escape of Nithisdale—the other Noblemen pardoned, after a long Imprisonment.

THE confused battle of Sheriffmuir being ended by the approach of night, both parties had time to count what they had lost and won in the course of the day. That of the insurgents was easily summed up. The Highlanders, on their right, had behaved

with their usual courage, and maintained the reputation which they had acquired of old times under Montrose, and more lately when commanded by Dundee. But in every other particular, the events of the battle were unfavourable to the insurgents. A great many of their best men had retired without leave, as was their invariable practice, to see their families, or to secure their small stock of booty, which some of them had augmented by plundering the baggage of their own army. This desertion thinned the ranks even of those clans who had been victorious, and the Highlanders of the vanquished division of the army had much better reasons for following the example thus set. Their numbers that morning had been from eight to ten thousand men; and at the close of the day, about four thousand of them were missing. Some leaders, too, of high rank and quality, had graced the retreat by their example; and it was said of Huntly and Seaforth in particular, that they were the first fugitives of any rank or condition

who reached Perth, and discouraged their numerous followers, by their retreat from the field of action. It was therefore in vain for the insurgents, under this state of diminution and discouragement, to abide a second battle, or endeavour to renew the attempt to pass the Forth, which they had not been able to accomplish with double their now reduced numbers.

But besides the effects of desertion, the insurgent army had other difficulties to contend with. The improvidence of their leaders had been so unpardonably great, that they had set out from one of the most fertile to a comparatively barren district of Scotland, with provisions for two or three days only, and their ammunition was proportionally scanty. It was therefore evident, that they were in no condition to renew the attempt in which they had that morning miscarried; nor had Mar any alternative, save that of leading back his army to their old quarters at Perth, to wait until some unexpected event should give them

spirits for a fresh effort. Accordingly, as already mentioned, having passed the night after the action among the enclosures of Auchterarder, he returned towards Perth the next morning. The Duke of Argyle, on the other hand, having fallen back on Dunblane, with the troops he himself commanded, and, rejoined by such of the fugitives of the left wing as could be collected, he lay on his arms all night, expecting to renew the action on the succeeding day.

On approaching the field of battle on Monday, the 14th of November, at break of day, the Duke of Argyle found it abandoned by the enemy, who had left their dead and wounded at his disposal, together with the honours of the field, amongst which the principal trophies were fourteen colours, or standards, and six pieces of field cannon, which Mar had brought to the field in an useless bravado, since he had neither ammunition nor men to serve them, and which he had found himself unable to remove. Amongst the gentlemen who fell on this occasion, were several on both sides alike

eminent for birth and character. The body of the gallant young Earl of Strathmore was found on the field, watched by a faithful old domestic, who, being asked the name of the person whose body he waited upon with so much care, made this striking reply, "He was a man yesterday."

The Earl of Mar had endeavoured to pave the way for a triumphant return to Perth, by a species of Gazette, in which he claimed the victory on the right and centre, and affirmed, that had the left wing and the second line behaved as his right and the rest of the first line did, the victory had been complete. But he could not again excite the enthusiasm of his followers, many of whom began now in earnest to despair of their situation, the large odds of numbers which they possessed in the field of Sheriffmuir having been unable to secure them a decided victory.

Many rumours were in the meantime spread among the insurgents, concerning successes which were reported to have been obtained by Forster and his troops over Ge-

neral Carpenter in England, and bonfires and rejoicings were made for these supposed victories, at a time when, in fact, Forster and Kenmure were totally defeated, their soldiers dispersed, and themselves prisoners.

You must not forget that the force of General Forster consisted of the troops of horse levied on the Northumberland frontier by the Earl of Derwentwater and others, joined with the gentlemen of Galloway and Dumfries-shire, under Lord Kenmure, and the Lothian Jacobites, under the Earl of Winton, composing altogether a body of five or six hundred horse, to whom must be added about fourteen hundred Highlanders, being those sent across the Frith by the Earl of Mar, under command of MacIntosh of Borlum. You must also recollect, that in this little army there were great differences of opinion as to the route which they were to pursue. The English gentlemen persisted in the delusion, that they had only to show themselves in the west of England, in order to draw the whole

country to their standard, while the Scots, both the Lowland gentlemen and Highlanders, desired to march upon Dumfries, and, after taking possession of that town, proceed to the west of Scotland, and force open a communication betwixt their force and the main army under Mar, by which they reasonably hoped to dislodge Argyle from his post at Stirling.

Unfixed which course to pursue, and threatened by General Carpenter, who moved against them from Newcastle towards Kelso, at the head of a thousand horse, the insurgents left the latter town, where they had been joined by the Brigadier MacIntosh, and marched to Jedburgh, not without one or two false alarms. They had, however, the advantage of outstripping General Carpenter, and the English gentlemen became still more impatient to return into their own country, and raise the Jacobites of the west. The Highlanders, learning that such a plan was at last adopted, separated themselves from the horse as soon as the march began, and drawing up on a moor above the town

of Hawick, declared, that if the insurgents proposed to march against the enemy, they would fight it out to the last; but that they would not go into England to be kidnapped and made slaves of, as their ancestors were in Cromwell's time. And when the horse drew up, as if for the purpose of attack, the Highlanders cocked their pieces, and prepared for action, saying, that if they must needs be made a sacrifice, they would prefer their own country as the scene of their death. The discontented mountaineers would listen to no one save the Earl of Winton, who joined them in desiring to march westward to the assistance of the Earl of Mar; to whom, indeed, by preventing Argyle from concentrating his forces, they might have done excellent service, for the Duke could never have recalled a regiment of horse which he had at Kilsythe, had the southern insurgents threatened that post. The Highlanders were at length put in motion, under a declaration that they would abide with the army while they re-

mained in Scotland, but should they enter England they would return back.

In the meantime the citizens of the town of Dumfries saw themselves again threatened by the rebel forces, and assuming an attitude of resistance, marched out to occupy a position in front of the place, on which they threw up some hasty fortifications. At the same time they received intelligence from General Carpenter, who had now reached Jedburgh, that if they could but defend themselves for six hours, he would within that time attack the rear of the enemy.

The news, that the Dumfries citizens intended to defend their town, which lay in front, while Carpenter was prepared to operate in the rear of the rebels, induced Mr Forster and his friends to renew with great urgency their proposal of entering England, affirming to their northern associates that they were possessed of letters of advice, assuring them of ageneral insurrection. The Scots, worn out with the perseverance of

their English associates, and unable to believe that men would have deceived themselves or others by illusory hopes, when engaged in such a momentous undertaking, at length yielded to their remonstrances. Accordingly, having reached Ecclefechan on their way to Dumfries, the English counsels prevailed, and the insurgents halted at the former village, turned south, and directed their march on Langholm, with the design of making for the west of England.

The Earl of Winton dissented so widely from the general resolution, that he left the army with a considerable part of his troop, and it seemed for a time as if he had renounced the undertaking entirely. Ashamed, however, to break off abruptly from a cause which he had embraced from motives of duty and conscience, he changed his purpose, and again joined the main body. But though this unfortunate young nobleman returned to the fatal standard, it was remarked that from this time he ceased to take any interest in the debates or deli-

berations of his party, but seized with a kind of reckless levity upon such idle opportunities of amusement as chance threw in his way, in a manner scarce resembling one engaged in an important and perilous enterprise.

The Highlanders were again divided from their confederates in their opinion respecting the alteration of the line of march, and the object of their expedition. Many agreed to march into England. Others, to the number of four hundred, broke away entirely from their companions, with the purpose of returning to their mountains through the western districts and by the heads of the Forth. They might have accomplished this, but for the difficulty of finding provisions, which obliged them to separate into small parties, several of which were made prisoners by the peasantry, who in that country were chiefly Cameronians, and accustomed to the use of arms.

The rest of the army, diminished by this desertion, proceeded to Brampton, near Car-

lisle, where Mr Forster, producing his commission to that effect, was recognised as General of King James's forces in England. It is possible, that the desire to obtain the supreme command of the army might have made this gentleman the more anxious for having the march directed on his native country; and his first exploit in his new capacity seemed to give a lustre to his undertaking, although the success was more owing to the fears of the opposite party, than to any particular display of courage on the part of the Jacobite General and his little army.

It must be observed, that the horse-militia of Westmoreland, and of the northern parts of Lancashire, had been drawn out to oppose the rebels; and now the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, were assembled along with them at Penrith, by summons from Lord Lonsdale, sheriff of the county. But being a mere undisciplined mob, ill-armed, and worse arrayed, they did not wait for an at-

tack either from the cavalry or the Highlanders, but dispersed in every direction, leaving to the victors the field of battle, covered with arms and a considerable number of horses. Lonsdale, deserted by every one save about twenty of his own servants, was obliged to make his escape, and found shelter in the old castle of Appleby.

In marching through Cumberland and Westmoreland, there was little seen of that enthusiasm in the Jacobite cause which the English officers had taught their associates to expect. Manchester was on this, as upon a later occasion, the first town where the inhabitants seemed disposed to embark in the insurrection, and form a company for that purpose. Intimation of their friendly disposition reached the insurgents at Lancaster, and encouraged them to advance. It was, indeed, time that their friends should join them, for they had daily news of troops marching to oppose and surround them. On their side they resolved to extend themselves, the more easily to gather fresh forces; and

having moved from Lancaster to Preston, they resolved to possess themselves of Warrington bridge, with a view to securing Liverpool.

While they were scheming an attack on this celebrated seaport, which its citizens were preparing to defend with much vigour, the government forces, which had assembled around them, were advancing towards them on several quarters.

It seems strange, that while possessing a strong party of friends in the country, being a very large proportion of the landed gentry, with a considerable proportion of the populace, the insurgents should nevertheless have suffered themselves to be so completely surprised. But the spirit of delusion which possessed the whole party, and pervaded all their proceedings, was as remarkable here as on other occasions. While Forster and his companions were thinking of extending the fire of insurrection to Manchester and Liverpool, General Willis, who commanded in Cheshire for

King George, had taken measures for extinguishing it entirely. This active general issued orders to several regiments, chiefly of horse and dragoons quartered in the neighbouring counties, appointing them to rendezvous at Warrington Bridge on the 10th of November, on which day he proposed to place himself at their head, and dispute with the rebels their approach to Manchester. At the same time, Willis entered into communication with General Carpenter, whose unwearied exertions had dogged the insurgents from Northumberland, and was now advancing upon them.

These tidings came like a thunderbolt on Forster's army. Forster had but a choice of difficulties, namely, either to march out and dispute with Major-General Willis the passage of the river Ribble, by which Preston is covered, or abide within an open town, and defend it by such assistance from fortifications, barricades, and batteries, as could be erected within a few hours.

The first of these courses had its advan-

tages. The bridge across the Ribble was long, narrow, and might have been easily defended, especially as there was a party of one hundred chosen Highlanders stationed there, under the command of John Farquharson of Invercauld, a chief of great character for courage and judgment; and who, though General Willis was approaching very near to the bridge, might have been relied on as secure of maintaining his ground till succours were dispatched from the town. Beyond the bridge there extended a long and deep lane, bordered with hedges, well situated for defence, especially against cavalry. All this was in favour of the defence of the bridge; but, on the other hand, if Forster had drawn his squadrons of gentlemen out of Preston, he must have exposed them to the rough shock of ordinary troopers, which they were neither mounted nor armed so as to sustain. It was probably this which determined the Jacobite leader to maintain his defence in the town of Preston itself, rather than in front of it. The

insurgents took judicious measures for this purpose, and pursued them with zeal and spirit. Four barricadoes were hastily erected. The Earl of Derwentwater, stripping to the waistcoat, encouraged the men to labour as well by his own example as his liberality, and the works were speedily completed.

One of these barriers was situated a little below the church, and was supported by the gentlemen volunteers, who mustered in the churchyard. The defence was commanded by Brigadier MacIntosh. The second was formed at the end of a lane, which was defended by Lord Charles Murray; the third was called the Windmill barricade —it was held out by the Laird of MacIntosh, chief of the name; the fourth barricade was drawn across the street leading towards Liverpool, and was stoutly manned by Hunter, the Northumbrian freebooter, and his moss-troopers. Each barricade was protected by two pieces of cannon; and the houses on both sides of the street were occupied by defenders, so as to pour a destruc-

tive flanking fire on any assailant. General Willis, having accurately surveyed the defences, resolved upon attacking them.

On Saturday, the 12th of November, being the day previous to that on which the battle of Sheriffmuir was fought, General Willis commenced his operations upon the town of Preston by a double attack. The barricade on the street below the church was assaulted with great fury; but so insupportable a fire was opened from the defences and the houses adjacent, that the assailants were beat off with considerable loss. It would seem, that to aid him in the defence of his post, Brigadier MacIntosh had called in some soldiers who had been posted in the street leading to Wigan. Preston's regiment (well known as the Old Cameronian, and forming part of Willis's attacking force) were therefore enabled to penetrate through that avenue, and seizing two houses which overlooked the town, did the defendants more injury than they sustained from any other attack. The barricade, com-

manded by Lord Charles Murray, was, in like manner, stoutly attacked, and fiercely defended; but the Jacobite officer receiving a reinforcement of fifty volunteers, his resistance was ultimately successful. Captains Hunter and Douglas likewise made a desperate defence at the barrier intrusted to them, and the assault upon the post defended by the Chief of MacIntosh, was equally fatal to the assailants.

When the soldiers of Willis retired from their various points of attack, they set fire, according to their orders, to the houses betwixt them and the barricades. By the light afforded by this conflagration, the skirmish was carried on during the night; and had not the weather been uncommonly still, Preston, which was the scene of contest, must have been burned to the ground.

Although the insurgents had preserved the advantage in every attack, it was evident, that, cut off from all assistance, and cooped up in the streets of a burning town, where they had but few men to maintain an

extended circle of defence, nothing short of a miracle could relieve them. General Willis, whilst directing the attack on the barricades, had, at the same time, guarded every pass by which the devoted band could escape. Of those who desperately attempted to sally, several were cut to pieces; and it was but very few who escaped by hewing their way through the enemy.

On the morning of the 13th, being the day after the attack, the situation of Forster and his army became yet more desperate. General Carpenter, so long their pursuer, now came up with so many additional forces, chiefly cavalry, as completed the blockade of the place, and left the besieged no hope of escape or relief. Willis, as inferior in rank, offered to resign, of course, the charge of the siege to his superior officer; but General Carpenter generously refused to take the command, observing, that Willis deserved the honour of finishing the affair which he had begun

so auspiciously. The dispositions of the latter general were therefore so actively followed up, that the blockade of the town was effectually completed, and the fate of the rebels became inevitable.

The scene of unavoidable destruction had different effects upon the different characters of the unfortunate insurgents in Preston, in like manner as the approach of imminent peril has upon domesticated and savage animals when they are brought to extremity,—the former are cowed into submission, while the latter, brought to bay, become more desperately ferocious in their resistance. The English gentlemen began to think upon the possibility of saving their lives, and entertained the hope of returning once more to the domestic enjoyments of their homes and their estates; while the Highlanders, and most of the Scottish insurgents, even of the higher classes, declared for sallying out and dying like men of honour, with sword in hand, rather than holding their lives on the base tenure of submission.

Such being their different views of the measures to be adopted, the English determined to accomplish a capitulation at all events; and Oxburgh, an Irish Catholic, who had been Forster's tutor in military matters, went out to propose a surrender to the English generals. The mission was coldly received, and he was distinctly given to understand, that no terms would be granted excepting those of unconditional surrender, with the sole provision that they should be secured from immediate execution. He returned to the town, and the errand on which he had visited the enemy's position being understood, General Forster was nearly pistolled by a Scottish gentleman, named Murray, and his life only saved by a friendly hand, which struck the weapon upwards in the act of its being discharged.

Captain Dalzell, brother of the Earl of Carnwath, then went out in the name of the Scots, but could obtain no more favourable terms. Some time, however, was gain-

ed, in which the principal leaders had time to consider that Government might be satisfied with a few examples, while the greater part of the insurgents, in which every one's confidence in his individual good luck led him to hope he would be included, would escape at least the extremity of punishment. After the Scots, and especially the Highlanders, had persisted for some time in their determination of resistance, they at length found themselves obliged to surrender on no better terms than the English, which amounted only to this, that they should not be instantly put to the sword. Their leaders were surrendered as hostages; and at length, after manifesting the greatest unwillingness to give up their arms, they accepted the capitulation, if such it could be called. It certainly appears, that by surrendering at discretion, the greater part of them expected at least to save their lives.

On laying down their arms, the unhappy garrison were enclosed in one of the churches, and treated with considerable rigour,

being stripped and ill-used by the soldiery.* About fourteen hundred men, of all sorts, were included in the surrender; amongst whom there were about two hundred domestic servants, followers of the gentlemen who had assumed arms, about three hundred gentlemen volunteers, the rest consisting of Brigadier MacIntosh's command of High-

* The laced clothes of the gentlemen was the temptation to this outrage. The prisoners were obliged to strip the pews of their baize linings, in order to apply the cloth to the purpose of decent covering. A family tradition runs thus: A gentleman, who fought as a trooper in one of the Scottish squadrons, was shot through the body at the barricade. He was conceived to be mortally wounded, and lay stretched in a pew in the church, an affectionate comrade supporting his head, and expecting every moment to receive his last sigh. After much sickness, the wounded man's stomach is said to have relieved itself by discharging a piece of his scarlet waistcoat, which the ball had carried into his body. The assistant, much amazed at such a phenomenon, being also one of that class of men who cannot forbear a jest, even in the most melancholy circumstances, observed, "Hegh, Walter, I am fain to see you have a stock of braid cloth in your bowels; and since it is sae, I wish you would exert yourself again, and bring up as much as would make a pair of breeks, for I am in mickle need o' them." The wounded man afterwards recovered.

landers. Six of the prisoners were condemned to be shot by martial law, as holding commissions under the government against which they had borne arms. Lord Charles Murray obtained a reprieve with difficulty, through the interest of his friends. Little mercy was shown to the misguided private men, whose sole offence was having complied with what was in their eyes a paramount duty, the obedience to their chiefs. Very many underwent the fate which made them so unwilling to enter England, namely, that of banishment to the plantations in America.

The prisoners of most note were sent up to London, into which they were introduced in a kind of procession, which did less dishonour to the sufferers than to the mean minds who planned and enjoyed such an ignoble triumph. By way of balancing the influence of the Tory mob, whose violences in burning chapels, &c., had been of a formidable and highly criminal character, plans had been adopted by government to excite

and maintain a rival spirit of tumult among such of the vulgar as were called, or called themselves, the Low Church party. Party factions often turn upon the most frivolous badges of distinction. As the Tories had affected a particular passion for ale, as a national and truly English potation, their parliamentary associations taking the title of the October and the March Clubs; so, in the spirit of opposition, the Whigs of the lower rank patronised beer, (distinguished, according to Dr Johnson, from ale, by being either older or smaller,) and mug-houses were established, held by landlords of orthodox Whig principles, where this protestant and revolutionary liquor was distributed in liberal quantities, and they speedily were thronged by a set of customers, whose fists and sticks were as prompt to assault the admirers of High Church and Ormond, as the Tories were ready to defend them. It was for the gratification of the frequenters of these mug-houses, as they were called, that the entrance of the Preston prisoners into

London was graced with the mock honours of a triumphal procession.

The prisoners, most of them men of birth and education, were, on approaching the capital, all pinioned with cords like the vilest criminals. This ceremony they underwent at Barnet. At Highgate they were met by a large detachment of horse grenadiers and foot guards, preceded by a body of citizens decently dressed, who shouted to give example to the mob. Halters were put upon the horses ridden by the prisoners, and each man's horse was led by a private soldier. Forster, a man of high family, and still Member of Parliament for Northumberland, was exposed in the same manner as the rest. A large mob of the patrons of the mug-houses attended on the occasion, beating upon warming-pans, (in allusion to the vulgar account of the birth of the Chevalier de St George,) and the prisoners, with all sort of scurrilous abuse and insult, were led through the streets of the city in this species of unworthy triumph, and

deposited in the jails of Newgate, the Marshalsea, and other prisons in the metropolis.

In consequence of this sudden increase of tenants, a most extraordinary change took place in the discipline of these melancholy abodes. When the High Church party in London began to recover the astonishment with which they had witnessed the suppression of the insurrection, they could not look back with much satisfaction on their own passive behaviour during the contest, if it could be called one, and now endeavoured to make up for it by liberally supplying the prisoners, whom they regarded as martyrs in their cause, with money and provisions, in which wine was not forgotten. The fair sex are always disposed to be compassionate, and certainly were not least so in this case, where the objects of pity were many of them gallant young cavaliers, sufferers in a cause which they had been taught to consider as sacred. The consequence was, that the prisons overflowed with wine and good

cheer, and the younger and more thoughtless part of the inmates turned to revelling and drowning in liquor all more serious thoughts of their situation; so that even Lord Derwentwater himself said of his followers, that they were fitter inhabitants for bridewell than a state prison. Money, it is said, circulated so plentifully among them, that when it was difficult to obtain silver for a guinea in the streets, nothing was so easy as to find change, whether of gold or silver, in the jail. A handsome, high-spirited young Highland gentleman, whom the pamphlets of the day call Bottair, (one of the family of Butter in Athole,) made such an impression on the fair visitors who came to minister to the wants of the Jacobite captives, that some reputations were put in peril by the excess of their attentions to this favourite object of compassion.

When such a golden shower descends on a prison, the jailor generally secures to himself the largest share of it; and those prisoners who desired separate beds, or the

lightest accommodation in point of lodging, had to purchase them at a rate which would have paid for many years the rent of the best houses in St James's Square or Piccadilly. Dungeons, the names of which indicate their gloomy character, as the Lion's Den, the Middle Dark, and the like, were rented at the same extravagant prices, and were not only filled with prisoners, but abounded with good cheer.

These riotous scenes went on the more gaily that almost all had nursed a hope, that their having surrendered at discretion would be admitted as a protection for their lives. But when numerous bills of high treason were found against them, escape from prison began to be thought of, which the command of money, and the countenance of friends without doors, as well as the general structure of the jails, rendered more easy than could have been expected. Thus, on the 10th of April, 1716, Thomas Forster escaped from Newgate, by means of false keys, and, having all things prepared, got safely to France.

On the 10th of May, Brigadier MacIntosh, whom we have so often mentioned, with fourteen other gentlemen, chiefly Scottish, took an opportunity to escape in the following manner. The brigadier having found means to rid himself of his irons, and coming down stairs about eleven at night, he placed himself close by the door of the jail; and as it was opened to admit a servant at that time of night, (no favourable example of prison discipline,) he knocked down the jailor, and made his escape with his companions, some of whom were retaken in the streets, from not knowing whither to fly.

Among the fugitives who broke prison with MacIntosh, was Robert Hepburn of Keith, the same person in whose family befell the lamentable occurrence mentioned in the first volume (at pages 245-8).

This gentleman had pinioned the arms of the turnkey by an effort of strength, and effected his escape into the open street without pursuit. But he was at a loss whither

to fly, or where to find a friendly place of refuge. His wife and family were, he knew, in London; but how, in that great city, was he to discover them, especially as they most probably were residing there under feigned names? While he was agitated by this uncertainty, and fearful of making the least enquiry, even had he known in what words to express it, he saw at a window in the street an ancient piece of plate, called the Keith Tankard, which had long belonged to his family. He immediately conceived that his wife and children must be inhabitants of the lodgings, and entering, without asking questions, was received in their arms. They knew of his purpose of escape, and took lodgings as near the jail as they could, that they might afford him immediate refuge; but dared not give him any hint where they were, otherwise than by setting the well-known flagon where it might by good fortune catch his eye. He escaped to France.

The noblemen who had placed themselves at the head of the rebellion were now called to answer for their guilt; and articles of impeachment of high treason were exhibited by the House of Commons against the Earl of Derwentwater, and the Lord Widdrington, in England; and the Earls of Nithisdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Lord Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairne, in Scotland. They severally pleaded Guilty to the articles, excepting the Earl of Winton, who pleaded Not Guilty.

Lord Derwentwater and Lord Kenmure suffered death on the 24th February, 1715-16. The Earl of Derwentwater, who was an amiable private character, hospitable and generous, brave and humane, revoked on the scaffold his plea of Guilty, and died firmly avowing the political creed for which he suffered. Lord Kenmure, a quiet, modest gentleman, shared Derwentwater's fate; and he showed the same firmness. There is a tradition that the body of Lord Derwentwater was carried down to Westmore-

and in great pomp, the procession, however, moving only by night, and resting by day in chapels dedicated to the exercise of the Catholic religion, where the funeral services of that church were performed over the body during the day, until the approach of night permitted them to resume their progress northward; and that the remains of this unfortunate nobleman were finally deposited in his ancestors' burial place at Dilstone Hall. His large estates were confiscated to the crown, and now form the valuable property of Greenwich Hospital.

Charles Ratcliff, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, and doomed to share his fate, after a long interval of years saved himself for the time by breaking prison.

But what chiefly attracted the attention of the public, was the escape of the Earl of Nithisdale, who was destined to have shared the fate of Derwentwater and Kenmure.

The utmost intercession had been made, in every possible shape, to save the lives of

these unfortunate noblemen, and their companions in misfortune, but it had been found unavailing. Lady Nithisdale, the bold and affectionate wife of the condemned Earl, having in vain thrown herself at the feet of the reigning monarch to implore mercy for her husband, devised a plan for his escape of the same kind with that since practised by Madame Lavalette. She was admitted to see her husband in the Tower upon the last day which, according to his sentence, he had to live. She had with her two female confidants. One brought on her person a double suit of female clothes. This individual was instantly dismissed, when relieved of her second dress. The other person gave her own clothes to the Earl, attiring herself in those which had been provided. Muffled in a riding-hood and cloak, the Earl, in the character of lady's maid, holding a handkerchief to his eyes, as one overwhelmed with deep affliction, passed the sentinels, and being safely conveyed out of the Tower, made his escape to France. We are startled

to find, that, according to the rigour of the law, the life of the heroic Countess was considered as responsible for that of the husband whom she had saved; but she contrived to conceal herself.

Lord Winton received sentence of death after trial, but also made his escape from the Tower. As Charles Ratcliff had already broke prison about the same time, we may conclude either that the jailors and marshals did not exhibit much vigilance on this occasion, or that the prisoners found means of lulling it to sleep. The Earl of Carnwath, Lords Widdrington and Nairne, were, after a long imprisonment, pardoned as far as their lives were concerned, in consequence of a general bill of indemnity.

Of inferior persons, about twenty of the most resolute of the Preston prisoners were executed at that place and at Manchester, and four or five suffered at Tyburn. Amongst these the execution of William Paul, a clergyman, a true friend, as he boasted himself, of the anti-revolutionary church of England,

made a strong impression on those of his party.

Thus closed the Rebellion and its consequences, so far as England was concerned. We must now take a view of its last scenes as exhibited in Scotland.

CHAP. III.

The Arrival of Dutch Troops to the Assistance of Government, the news of the Surrender at Preston, and the Desertion of the Clan Fraser to the Whig Interest, all tend to discourage the Jacobite Army—A General Council of the Jacobite Leaders breaks up without coming to any Conclusion, one Party desiring to capitulate, while Mar wishes to keep the Army together till the Arrival of the Chevalier—An Offer of Submission, upon Terms, made to Argyle, and Rejected—Arrival of the Chevalier, which fails to restore the Courage of his Adherents—Exertions of Argyle to put an end to the Rebellion—His March towards Perth—Exultation of the Jacobite Highlanders in the Prospect of another Battle—their Fury and Despair on its being hinted that it was intended to Retreat—A Retreat resolved on.

We left the insurgents when the melancholy news of the termination of the campaign of Forster, with his Highland auxilia-

ries, at the barricades of Preston, had not yet reached them; the moment it did, all hopes of a general insurrection in England, or any advantage being obtained there, were for ever ended.

The regular troops which had been detained in England to suppress the northern insurgents, were now set at liberty, and Mar could no longer rely upon Argyle's remaining inactive for want of men. Besides, the Estates of the United Provinces had now, upon the remonstrance of General Cadogan, dispatched for Britain the auxiliary forces which they were bound by treaty to furnish in case of invasion, and three thousand of them had landed at Deptford. The other three thousand Dutch troops, designed for ports in the north, had been dispersed by a storm, and driven into Harwich, Yarmouth, and elsewhere, which induced the government to order those at Deptford, as the most disposable part of this auxiliary force, to move instantly down to Scotland.

Events equally unfavourable to the rebels were taking place in the North of Scotland; and, in order to ascertain the progress of these, it is necessary to trace some passages of the life of Simon Fraser, one of the most remarkable characters of his time.

He was by birth the nearest male heir to the estate of Lovat, and to the dignity of Chief of the Frasers—no empty honour, since the clan contained a following of from seven hundred to a thousand men. The chief last deceased, however, had left a daughter, and Simon was desirous, by marriage with this young lady, to unite her pretensions to the chieftainship and estate with his own. As his character was bad, and his circumstances accounted desperate, the widowed mother of the young heiress, a lady of the house of Athole, was averse to this match, and her powerful family countenanced her repugnance. Being a man of a daring character, deep powers of dissimulation, and master of the tempers of the

lower class of Highlanders, Simon found it no difficult matter to obtain the assistance of a strong party of Frasers, chiefly desperate men, to assist in a scheme of seizing on the person of the young heiress. She escaped his grasp, but her mother, the widow of the late Lord Lovat, fell into his power. Equally short-sighted as unprincipled, Fraser imagined that by marrying this lady instead of her daughter, he would secure, through her large jointure, some legal interest in the estate. With this view he accomplished a forced marriage betwixt the Dowager Lady Lovat and himself, and enforced his rights, as her pretended husband, with the most brutal violence. For this abominable and atrocious outrage against a matron, widow of his own near connexion, and a sister of the powerful Marquis of Athole, letters of fire and sword were granted against Fraser and his adherents, and, being outlawed by the High Court of Justiciary, he was forced to fly to France. Here he endeavoured to recommend himself at

the court of St Germains, by affecting much zeal for the Jacobite cause, and pretending to great interest with the Highland chiefs, and the power of rendering effectual service amongst them. The Chevalier de St George and the French King were aware of the infamy of the man's character, and distrusted the proposal which he laid before them, for raising an insurrection in the Highlands. Mary of Este, more credulous, was disposed to trust him; and he was detached on a Jacobite mission, which he instantly betrayed to the Duke of Queensberry, and which created much disturbance in the year 1703, as we have noticed in its place.* His double treachery being discovered, Simon Fraser was, on his return to France, thrown into the Bastile, where he remained for a considerable time. Dismissed from this imprisonment, he waited for an opportunity where he might serve his own interest, and advance his claims upon the chieftainship of the clan Fraser and the estate of Lovat, by adopting

* See volume i. p. 25-6.

the political side betwixt the contending parties which should bid fairest to serve his purpose.

The time seemed now arrived, when, by the insurrection of Mar, open war was declared betwixt the parties. His cousin, the heiress of Lovat, had been married to MacKenzie of Fraserdale, who, acting as chief of his wife's clan, had summoned the Frasers to arms, and led a body of five hundred clansmen to join the standard of the Chevalier de St George. They marched to Perth accordingly. In the meantime, Simon Fraser arrived in Scotland, and made his appearance, like one of those portentous sea monsters whose gambols announce the storm. He was first seen at Dumfries, where he offered his personal services to join the citizens, who were in arms to repel an attack from Kenmure, Nithisdale, and their followers. The Dumfriesians, however, trusted him not, nay, were disposed to detain him a prisoner; and only permitted him to pass northward, on the assu-

rance of the Marquis of Annandale, that his presence there would be favourable to King George and his cause. It proved so accordingly.

Simon Fraser arrived in Inverness-shire, and hastened to form an intimate alliance with Duncan Forbes, brother of John Forbes of Culloden, and a determined friend to government. Forbes was an excellent lawyer, and a just and religious man. At another time, he would probably have despised associating himself with a desperate outlaw to his country, black with the charges of rape, murder, and double treachery. But the case was an extreme one, in which no assistance that promised to be available was to be rejected. Simon Fraser obtained pardon and favour, and the influence of the patriarchal system was never more remarkably illustrated than in his person. His character was, as we have seen, completely infamous, and his state and condition that of an adventurer of the very worst description. But by far the

greater number of the clan were disposed to think, that the chiefship descended to the male heir, and therefore preferred Simon's title to that of Fraserdale, who only commanded them as husband of the heiress. The mandates of Fraser, now terming himself Lovat, reached the clan in the town of Perth. They were respected as those of the rightful chief; and the Frasers did not hesitate to withdraw from the cause of the Chevalier de St George, and march northwards, to place themselves under the command of their restored patriarch by male descent, who had embraced the other side. This change of sides was the more remarkable, as most of the Frasers were in personal opinion Jacobites. We have already noticed, that the desertion of the Frasers took place the very morning when Mar broke up to march on Dunblane; and, as a bold and warlike clan, their absence, on the 12th November, was of no small disadvantage to the party from whom they had retired.

Shortly after this, the operations of this clan, under their new leader, became directly hostile to the Jacobite cause. Sir John MacKenzie of Coul had, at the period of the Earl of Seaforth's march to Perth, been left with four hundred MacKenzies, to garrison Inverness, which may be termed the capital of the North Highlands. Hitherto his task had been an easy one, but it was now likely to become more difficult. Acting upon a plan concerted betwixt him and Duncan Forbes, Lovat assembled his clan, and with those of the Monros, Rosses, and Grants, who had always maintained the Whig interest, attacked Inverness, with such success, that they made themselves masters of the place, which Sir John MacKenzie found himself compelled to evacuate without serious resistance. The Earl of Sutherland also, who was still in arms, now advanced across the Murray Frith, and a considerable force was collecting in the rear of the rebels, and in a position which threatened the territories of Huntly, Sea-

forth, and several other chief leaders in Mar's army.

These various events tended more and more to depress the spirits of the noblemen and heads of clans who were in the Jacobite army. The indefinite, or rather unfavourable, issue of the affair of Sheriffmuir, had discouraged those who expected, by a decisive victory, if not to carry their principal and original purpose, at least to render themselves a foe to whom the Government might think it worth while to grant honourable terms of accommodation.

Most men of reflection, therefore, now foresaw the inevitable ruin of the undertaking; but the General, Mar, having formally invited the Chevalier de St George to come over and put himself at the head of the insurrectionary army, was under the necessity, for his own honour, and to secure the chance which such an impulse might have given to his affairs, of keeping his troops together to protect the person of the Prince, in case of his accepting this perilous in-

vitation, which, given before the battle of Sheriffmuir, was likely to be complied with. In this dilemma he became desirous, by every species of engagement, to bind those who had enrolled themselves under the fatal standard, not to quit it.

For this purpose, a military oath was proposed, in name of King James VIII.; an engagement, which, however solemn, has been seldom found stronger than the severe compulsion of necessity operating against it. Many of the gentlemen engaged, not willing to preclude themselves from endeavouring to procure terms, in case of need, refused to come under this additional obligation. The expedient of an association was next resorted to, and Mar summoned a general council of the principal persons in the army. This was the fourth time such a meeting had been convoked since the commencement of the affair; the first had taken place when MacIntosh's detachment was in peril; the second for the purpose of subscribing an invitation to the Chevalier de St George to join

them, and the third on the field of battle at Sheriffmuir.

The Marquis of Huntly, who had already wellnigh determined on taking separate measures, refused to attend the meeting, but sent a draught of an association to which he was willing to subscribe, and seemed to admit that the insurgents might make their peace separately. Mar flung it scornfully aside, and said it might be a very proper form, providing it had either sense or grammar. He then recommended his own draught, by which the subscribers agreed to continue in arms, and accept no conditions unless under the royal authority, and by the consent of the majority of the gentlemen then in arms. The proposed measure was opposed by the Master of Sinclair and many of the Lowland gentlemen. They complained, that by using the phrase "Royal authority," they might be considered as throwing the free power of deciding for themselves into the hands of Mar, as the royal General, with whose manage-

ment hitherto they had little reason to be satisfied. The Master of Sinclair demanded to know what persons were to vote, as constituting the majority of gentlemen in arms, and whether voices must be allowed to all who went by that general name, or whether the decision was to be remitted to those whom the General might select. Sir John MacLean haughtily answered, that unless some such power of selection were lodged in the commander in chief, all his regiment of eight hundred men must be admitted to vote, since every MacLean was a gentleman. Mar endeavoured to soothe the disaffected. He admitted the king's affairs were not in such a state as he could have desired; but contended that they were far from desperate, intimated that he still entertained hopes, and in the same breath deprecated answering the questions put to him on the nature of his expectations. He was, however, borne down with queries; and being reminded that he could not propose remaining at Perth, when the Duke of Argyle, reinforced by six

thousand Dutch, should move against him on one side, and Sutherland, with all the northern clans in the government interest, should advance on the other, it was demanded, where he proposed to make a stand. Inverness was named; and the shire of Murray was pointed out as sufficient to find subsistence for a considerable army. But Inverness, if not already fallen, was in imminent danger; Murray, though a fertile country, was a narrow district, which would be soon exhausted; and it seemed to be the general opinion, that if pressed by the Government forces, there would be no resource save falling back into the barren regions of the Highlands. The Master of Sinclair asked, at what season of the year forage and other necessaries for cavalry were to be found in the hills? Glengarry made a bizarre but very intelligible reply, "that such accommodations were to be found in the Highlands at every season—by those who were provident enough to bring them with them."

The main argument of Mar was, to press upon the dissentients the dishonour of deserting the King, when he was on the point of throwing himself on their loyalty. They replied, he alone knew the king's motions; of which they had no such assurances as could induce them to refuse any opportunity of saving themselves, their families, and estates from perdition, merely to preserve some punctilious scruples of loyalty, by which the King could gain no real advantage. They complained that they had been lured into the field, by promises of troops, arms, ammunition, treasure, and a general of military talent—all to be sent by France; and that, these reports proving totally false, they did not incline to be detained there upon rumours of the King's motions, which might be equally fallacious, as they came from the same quarter. In a word, the council of war broke up without coming to a resolution; and there was, from that time, established in the army a party who were opposed to Mar's conduct of af-

fairs, who declared for opening a negotiation with the Duke of Argyle, and were distinguished at head-quarters as grumblers and mutineers.

These gentlemen held a meeting at the Master of Sinclair's quarters, and opened a communication with Mar, in which they urged the total inadequacy of any resistance which they could now offer—the exhaustion of their supplies of ammunition, provision, and money—the impossibility of their making a stand until they reached the Highland mountains—and the equal impossibility of subsisting their cavalry if they plunged into these wildernesses. They declared, that they did not desire to separate themselves from the army; all they wished to know was, whether an honourable capitulation could be obtained for all who were engaged; and if dishonourable terms were offered, they expressed themselves determined to fight to the death rather than accept them.

While such were the sentiments of the

Low-country gentlemen, dejected at their total want of success, and the prospect of misery and ruin which they saw fast approaching, the Highland chiefs and clans were totally disinclined to any terms of accommodation. Their warlike disposition made the campaign an enjoyment to them; the pay, which Mar dispensed liberally, was, while it lasted, an object with people so poor; and, finally, they entertained the general opinion, founded upon the convention made with their ancestors after the war of 1688-9, that they might at worst retreat into their hills, where, rather than incur the loss of men and charges necessary for suppressing them, the Government would be glad to grant them peace upon their own terms, and, perhaps, not averse to pay them for accepting it. Another class of men having influence in such a singular camp, were the nobility, or men of quality, who had joined the cause. Most of these were men of high titles but broken fortunes, whose patrimony was overburden-

ed with debt. They had been early treated by Mar with distinction and preference, for their rank gave credit to the cause which their personal influence could not greatly have advanced. They enjoyed posts of nominal rank in the insurrectionary army; and the pay conforming to these was not less acceptable to them than to the Highlanders. It may be also supposed, that they were more particularly acquainted than others with the reasons Mar had for actually expecting the King; and might, with spirit worthy of their birth, be willing to incur the worst extremities of war, rather than desert their monarch at the moment when, by their own invitation, he came to throw himself on their fidelity. These noblemen, therefore, supported the measures and authority of the commander, and discountenanced any proposals to treat.

Notwithstanding the aid of the nobles and the Highland chiefs, Mar found himself compelled so far to listen to the representations of the discontented party, as to con-

sent that application should be made to the Duke of Argyle to learn whether any capitulation could be allowed. There was so little faith betwixt the officers and their general, that the former insisted on naming one of the delegates who were to be sent to Stirling about the proposed negotiation. The offer of submission upon terms was finally intrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, the officer of highest rank who had been made prisoner at Sheriffmuir. The colonel, agreeably to a previous engagement, returned with an answer to the proposal of submission, that the Duke of Argyle had no commission from court to treat with the insurgents as a body, but only with such individuals as might submit themselves; but his Grace promised that he would send the Duke of Roxburghe to court, for the purpose of soliciting such powers for a general pacification. A more private negotiation, instituted by the Countess of Murray, whose second son, Francis Stewart, was engaged in the rebellion, received the same answer,

with this addition, that the Duke of Argyle would not hear her pronounce the name of Mar, in whose favour she had attempted to make some intercession.

Upon this unfavourable reception of the proposal of submission, it was not difficult to excite the resentment of those who had declared for war, against that smaller party which advocated peace. The Highlanders, whose fierce temper was easily awakened to fury, were encouraged to insult and misuse several of the Low-country gentry, particularly the followers of Huntly, tearing the cockades out of their hats, and upbraiding them as cowards and traitors. The Master of Sinclair was publicly threatened by Farquharson of Inverey, a Highland vassal of the Earl of Mar; but his well-known ferocity of temper, with his habit of going continually armed, seem to have protected him.

About this time, there were others among Mar's principal associates who became desirous of leaving his camp at Perth. Hunt-

y, much disgusted with the insults offer-
d to his vassals, and the desperate state
of things at Perth, was now preparing
o withdraw to his own country, alleging
hat his presence was necessary to defend
t against the Earl of Sutherland, whose
narch southward must be destructive to
he estates of his family. The movements
of the same Earl with the clans of Rosses,
MacKays, Frasers, Grants, and others,
larmed Seaforth also for the security of
his dominions in Kintail; and he left Perth,
o march northward, for the defence of his
property, and the wives, families, and houses
of his vassals in arms. Thus were two
great limbs lopped off from Mar's army,
at the time when it was about to be assail-
ed by government with collected strength.
Individuals also became dispirited, and de-
serted the enterprise. There was at least
one man of consideration who went home
from the field of battle at Sheriffmuir—
sat down by his own hearth, and trusting

to the clemency of the government, renounced the trade of king-making. Others, in parties or separately, had already adopted the same course; and those who, better known, or more active, dared not remain at home, were seeking passages to foreign parts from the eastern ports of Scotland. The Master of Sinclair, after exchanging mutual threats and defiances with Mar and his friends, left the camp at Perth, went north and visited the Marquis of Huntly. He afterwards escaped abroad from the Orkney islands.

Amidst this gradual but increasing defection, Mar, by the course of his policy, saw himself at all rates obliged to keep his ground at Perth, since he knew, what others refused to take upon his authority, that the Chevalier de St George was very shortly to be expected in his camp.

This Prince, unfortunate from his very infancy, found himself, at the time of this struggle in his behalf, altogether unable to

ssist his partisans. He had been expelled rom France by the Regent Duke of Orleans, nd even the provision of arms and ammuition, which he was able to collect from is own slender funds, and those of his folowers, or by the munificence of his allies, vas intercepted in the ports of France. Having, therefore, no more effectual mode of rendering them assistance, he generously, or desperately, resolved to put his own person in the hazard, and live and die along with them. As a soldier, the Chevalier de St George had shown courage upon several other occasions; that is, he had approached the verge of battle as near as persons of his importance are usually suffered to do. He was handsome in person, and courteous and pleasing in his manners; but his talents were not otherwise conspicuous, nor did he differ from the ordinary class of great persons, whose wishes, hopes, and feelings, are uniformly under the influence and management of some favourite minister, who relieves his master of the inconvenient trou-

ble of thinking for himself upon subjects of importance. The arrival of a chief, graced with such showy qualities as James possessed, might have given general enthusiasm to the insurrection at its commencement, but could not redeem it when it was gone to ruin; any more than the unexpected presence of the captain on board a half-wrecked vessel can, of itself, restore the torn rigging which cannot resist the storm, or mend the shattered planks which are yawning to admit the waves.

The Chevalier thus performed his romantic adventure:—Having traversed Normandy disguised in a mariner's habit, he embarked at Dunkirk aboard a small vessel, formerly a privateer, as well armed and manned as time would admit, and laden with a cargo of brandy. On the 22d December, 1715, he landed at Peterhead, having with him a retinue of only six gentlemen; the rest of his train and equipage being to follow him in two other small vessels. Of these, one reached Scotland, but the

other was shipwrecked. The Earl of Mar, with the Earl Marischal, and a chosen train of persons of quality, to the number of thirty, went from Perth to kiss the hands of the Prince for whose cause they were in arms. They found him at Fetteresso, discomposed with the ague,—a bad disorder to bring to a field of battle. The deputation was received with the courtesy and marks of favour which could not be refused, although their news scarce deserved a welcome. While the episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen congratulated themselves and James on the arrival of a Prince, trained like Moses, Joseph, and David, in the school of adversity, his General had to apprize his Sovereign of the cold tidings, that his education in that severe academy had not yet ended. The Chevalier de St George now for the first time received the melancholy intelligence, that for a month before his arrival it had been determined to abandon Perth, which had hitherto been their head-quarters, and that, as soon as the ene-

my began to advance, they would be under the necessity of retreating into the wild Highlands.

This was a reception very different from what the Prince anticipated. Some hopes were still entertained, that the news of the Chevalier's actual arrival might put new life into their sinking cause, bring back the friends who had left their standard, and encourage new ones to repair thither, and the experiment was judged worth trying. For giving the greater effect to his presence, he appeared in royal state as he passed through Brechin and Dundee, and entered Perth itself with an affectation of Majesty.

James proceeded to name a Privy Council, to whom he made a speech, which had little in it that was encouraging to his followers. In spite of a forced air of hope and confidence, it was too obvious that the language of the Prince was rather that of despair. There was no rational expectation of assistance in men, money, or arms, from abroad, nor did his speech hold out any

such. He was come to Scotland, he said, merely that those who did not choose to discharge their own duty, might not have it in their power to make his absence an apology; and the ominous words escaped him, "that for him it was no new thing to be unfortunate, since his whole life, from his cradle, had been a constant series of misfortune, and he was prepared, if it so pleased God, to suffer the extent of the threats which his enemies threw out against him." These were not encouraging words, but they were the real sentiments of a spirit broken with disappointment. The Grand Council, to whom this royal speech was addressed, answered it by a declaration of their purpose of fighting the Duke of Argyle; and it is incredible how popular this determination was in the army, though reduced to one-fourth of their original numbers. The intelligence of the arrival of the Chevalier de St George was communicated to Seaforth, Lord Huntly, and other persons of consequence who had formerly join-

ed his standard, but they took no notice of his summons to return thither. He continued, notwithstanding, to act the Sovereign. Six proclamations were issued in the name of James the Eighth of Scotland and Third of England: The first appointed a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival in the British kingdoms—a second, commanded prayers to be offered up for him in all churches—a third, enjoined the currency of foreign coins—a fourth, directed the summoning together the Scottish Convention of Estates—a fifth, commanded all the fencible men to join his standard—and a sixth, appointed the 23d of January for the ceremony of his coronation. A letter from the Earl of Mar was also published respecting the King, as he is called, in which, with no happy selection of phrase, he is termed the *finest* gentleman in person and manners, with the *finest* parts and capacity for business, and the *finest* writer whom Lord Mar ever saw; in a word, every way fitted to

make the Scots a happy people, were his subjects worthy of him.

But with these flattering annunciations came forth one of a different character. The village of Auchterarder, and other hamlets lying between Stirling and Perth, with the houses, corn, and forage, were ordered by James's edict to be destroyed, lest they should afford quarters to the enemy in their advance. In consequence of this, the town above named and several villages were burned to the ground, while their inhabitants, with old men and women, children and infirm persons, were driven from their houses in the extremity of one of the hardest winters which had for a long time been experienced even in these cold regions. There is every reason to believe, that the alarm attending this violent measure greatly overbalanced any hopes of better times, excited by the flourishing proclamations of the newly-arrived candidate for royalty.

While the insurgents at Perth were trying the effect of adulatory proclamations,

active measures of a very different kind were in progress. The Duke of Argyle had been in Stirling since the battle of 12th November, collecting gradually the means of totally extinguishing the rebellion. His secret wish probably was, that it might be ended without farther bloodshed of his misguided countrymen, by dissolving of itself. But the want of a battering train, and the extreme severity of the weather, served as excuses for refraining from active operations. The Duke, however, seems to have been suspected by government of being tardy in his operations; and perhaps of having entertained some idea of extending his own power and interest in Scotland, by treating the rebels with clemency, and allowing them time for submission. This was the rather believed, as Argyle had been the ardent opponent of Marlborough, now Captain-General, and could not hope that his measures would be favourably judged by a political and personal enemy. The intercession of a part of the

English ministry, who declared against the impeachment of the rebel lords, had been punished with the loss of their places; and, notwithstanding the services he had performed, in arresting with three thousand men the progress of four times that number, Argyle's slow and temporizing measures subjected him to a shade of malevolent suspicion, which his message to government, through the Duke of Roxburghe, recommending an amnesty, perhaps tended to increase.

Yet he had not neglected any opportunity to narrow the occupation of the country by the rebels, or to prepare for their final suppression. The English ships of war in the Frith, acting under the Duke's orders, had driven Mar's forces from the castle of Burntisland, and the royal troops had established themselves throughout a great part of Fifeshire, formerly held exclusively by the rebel army.

The Dutch auxiliaries now, however, be-

gan to join the camp at Stirling; and as the artillery designed for the siege of Perth lay wind-bound in the Thames, a field-train was sent from Berwick to Stirling, that no farther time might be lost. General Cadogan also, the intimate friend of Marlborough, was dispatched from London to press the most active operations; and Argyle, if he had hitherto used any delay, in pity to the insurgents, was now forced on the most energetic measures.

On the 24th of January, the advance from Stirling and the march on Perth were commenced, though the late hard frost, followed by a great fall of snow, rendered the operations of the army slow and difficult. On the last day of January the troops of Argyle crossed the Earne without opposition, and advanced to Tullibardine, within eight miles of Perth.

On the other hand, all was confusion at the head-quarters of the rebels. The Chevalier de St George had expressed the greatest desire to see the little kings, as he called

the Highland chiefs, and their clans; but, though professing to admire their singular dress and martial appearance, he was astonished to perceive their number so greatly inferior to what he had been led to expect, and expressed an apprehension that he had been deceived and betrayed. Nor did the appearance of this Prince excite much enthusiasm on the part of his followers. His person was tall and thin; his look and eye dejected by his late bodily illness; and his whole bearing lacking the animation and fire which ought to characterise the leader of an adventurous, or rather desperate cause. He was slow of speech and difficult of access, and seemed little interested in reviews of his men, or martial displays of any kind. The Highlanders, struck with his resemblance to an automaton, asked if he could speak; and there was a general disappointment, arising rather, perhaps, from the state of anxiety and depression in which they saw him, than from any natural want of courage in the unhappy Prince him-

self. His extreme attachment to the Catholic religion, also reminded such of his adherents as acknowledged the reformed church, of the family bigotry on account of which his father had lost his kingdom; and they were much disappointed at his refusal to join in their prayers and acts of worship, and at the formal precision with which he adhered to his Popish devotions.

Yet the Highlanders, though few in numbers, still looked forward with the utmost spirit, and something approaching to delight, to the desperate conflict which they conceived to be just approaching; and when, on the 28th January, they learned that Argyle was actually on his march towards Perth, it seemed rather to announce a jubilee than a battle with fearful odds. The chiefs embraced, drank to each other, and to the good day which was drawing near; the pipes played, and the men prepared for action with that air of alacrity which a warlike people express at the approach of battle.

When, however, a rumour, first slowly whispered, then rapidly spreading among the clans, informed them, that notwithstanding all the preparations in which they had been engaged, it was the General's purpose to retire before the enemy without fighting, the grief and indignation of these men, taught to think so highly of their ancestors' prowess, and feeling no inferiority in themselves, rose to a formidable pitch of fury, and they assailed their principal officers in the streets with every species of reproach. "What can we do?" was the helpless answer of one of these gentlemen, a confident of Mar. "Do?" answered an indignant Highlander; "Let us do that which we were called to arms for, which certainly was not to run away. Why did the King come hither?—was it to see his subjects butchered like dogs, without striking a blow for their lives and honour?" When the safety of the king's person was urged as a reason for retreat, they answered—"Trust his safety to us; and if

he is willing to die like a prince, he shall see there are ten thousand men in Scotland willing to die with him."

Such were the general exclamations without doors, and those in the councils of the Chevalier were equally violent. Many military men of skill gave it as their opinion, that though Perth was an open town, yet it was so far a safe post, that an army could not, by a *coup-de-main*, take it out of the hands of a garrison determined on its defence. The severity of the snow-storm, and of the frost, precluded the opening of breaches; the country around Perth was laid desolate; the Duke of Argyle's army consisted in a great measure of Englishmen and foreigners, unaccustomed to the severe climate of Scotland; and vague hopes were expressed, that, if the General of Government should press an attack upon the town, he might receive such a check as would restore the balance between the parties. To this it was replied, that not only the superiority of

numbers, and the advantage of discipline, were on the side of the royal army, but that the garrison at Perth was destitute of the necessary provisions and ammunition; and that the Duke of Argyle had men enough at once to form the blockade of that town, and take possession of Dundee, Aberdeen, and all the counties to the northward of the Tay, which they lately occupied; while the Chevalier, cooped up in Perth, might be permitted for some time to see all the surrounding country in his enemy's possession, until it would finally become impossible for him to escape. In the end it was resolved in the councils of the Chevalier de St George, that to attempt the defence of Perth would be an act of desperate chivalry. To reconcile the body of the army to the retreat, reports were spread that they were to make a halt at Aberdeen, there to be joined by a considerable body of troops which were expected to arrive from abroad, and advance again southwards under better auspices.

But it was secretly understood that the purpose was to desert the enterprise, to which the contrivers might apply the lines of the poet—

> "In an ill hour did we these arms commence,
> Fondly brought here, and foolishly sent hence."

CHAP. IV.

Retreat of the Jacobite Army from Perth—Escape of the Chevalier and the Earl of Mar on board a Vessel at Montrose—Dispersion of the Jacobite Army—Incapacity of Mar as a General—Argyle's Arrival in London, and Reception at Court—he is deprived of all his Employments—Causes of this Act of Ingratitude on the part of the English Government—Trial of the Jacobite Prisoners, at Carlisle—Disarming of the Highlanders—Sale of Forfeited Estates—Plan of Charles XII. of Sweden for Restoring the Stewarts—Expedition fitted out by Cardinal Alberoni for the same purpose—Battle of Glenshiel—the Enterprise Abandoned.

WHATEVER reports were spread among the soldiers, the principal leaders had determined to commence a retreat, at the head of a discontented army, degraded in their own opinion, distrustful of their officers, and capable, should these suspicions ripen into a

fit of fury, of carrying off both King and General into the Highlands, and there waging an irregular war after their own manner.

On the 28th of January, an alarm was given in Perth of the Duke of Argyle's approach; and it is remarkable, that, although in the confusion, the general officers had issued no orders what measures were to be taken in case of this probable event, yet the clans themselves, with intuitive sagacity, took the strongest posts for checking any attack; and, notwithstanding a momentary disorder, were heard to cheer each other with the expression, "they should do well enough." The unhappy Prince himself was far from displaying the spirit of his partisans. He was observed to look dejected, and to shed tears, and heard to say, that instead of bringing him to a crown, they had led him to his grave. "Weeping," said Prince Eugene, when he heard this incident, "is not the way to conquer kingdoms."

The retreat commenced under all these

various feelings. On the 30th of January, the anniversary of Charles the First's decapitation, and ominous therefore to his grandson, the Highland army filed off upon the ice, which then covered the Tay, though a rapid and deep stream. The town was shortly afterwards taken possession of by a body of the Duke of Argyle's dragoons; but the weather was so severe, and the march of the rebels so regular, that it was impossible to push forward any vanguard of strength sufficient to annoy their retreat.

On the arrival of the rebels at the seaport of Montrose, a rumour arose among the Highlanders, that the King, as he was termed, the Earl of Mar, and some of their other principal leaders, were about to abandon them, and take their flight by sea. To pacify the troops, orders were given to continue the route towards Aberdeen; the equipage and horses of the Chevalier de St George were brought out before the gate of his lodgings, and his guards were mounted as if to proceed on the journey. But before

the hour appointed for the march, James left his apartments privately for those of the Earl of Mar, and both took a by-road to the water's edge, where a boat waited to carry them in safety on board a small vessel prepared for their reception. The safety of these two personages being assured, boats were sent to bring off Lord Drummond, and a few other gentlemen, most of them belonging to the Chevalier's household; and thus the son of James II. once more retreated from the shores of his native country, which, on this last occasion, he seemed to have visited for no other purpose than to bring away his General in safety.

General Gordon performed the melancholy and irksome duty of leading to Aberdeen the disheartened remains of the Highland army, in which the Lord Marischal lent him assistance, and brought up the rear. It is probable, that the rage of the men, on finding themselves deserted, might have shown itself in some acts of violence and insubordination; but the approach of

the Duke of Argyle's forces, which menaced them in different columns, prevented this catastrophe. A sealed letter, to be opened at Aberdeen, contained the secret orders of the Chevalier for General Gordon and his army. When opened, it was found to contain thanks for their faithful services; an intimation, that disappointments had obliged him to retire abroad; and a full permission to his adherents either to remain in a body and treat with the enemy, or disperse, as should best appear to suit the exigency of the time. The soldiers were at the same time apprised that they would cease to receive pay.

A general burst of grief and indignation attended these communications. Many of the insurgents threw down their arms in despair, exclaiming, that they had been deserted and betrayed, and were now left without either king or general. The clans broke up into different bodies, and marched to the mountains, where they dispersed, each to its own hereditary glen. The gen-

tlemen and Lowlanders who had been engaged, either skulked among the mountains, or gained the more northerly shires of the country, where vessels sent from France to receive them, carried a great part of them to the continent.

Thus ended the Rebellion of 1715, without even the usual sad eclat of a defeat. It proved fatal to many ancient and illustrious families in Scotland, and appears to have been an undertaking too weighty for the talents of the person whom chance, or his own presumption, placed at the head of it. It would be unjust to the memory of the unfortunate Mar, not to acquit him of cowardice or treachery, but his genius lay for the intrigues of a court, not the labours of a campaign. He seems to have fully shared the chimerical hopes which he inspired amongst his followers, and to have relied upon the foreign assistance which the Regent Duke of Orleans wanted both power and inclination to afford. He believed, also, the kingdom was so ripe for rebellion, that

nothing was necessary save to kindle a spark in order to produce a general conflagration. In a word, his trust was reposed in what is called the chapter of accidents. Before the battle of Sheriffmuir, his inactivity seems to have been unpardonable, since he suffered the Duke of Argyle, by assuming a firm attitude, to neutralize and control a force of four times his numbers; but after that event, to continue the enterprise was insanity, since each moment he lingered brought him nearer the edge of the precipice. Yet even the Chevalier was invited over to share the dangers and disgrace of an inevitable retreat. In short, the whole history of the insurrection shows that no combination can be more unfortunate than that of a bold undertaking with an irresolute leader.

The Earl of Mar for several years afterwards managed the state affairs of the Chevalier de St George, the mock minister of a mock cabinet, until the beginning of the year 1721, when he became deprived of his

master's confidence. He spent the rest of his life abroad, and in retirement. This unfortunate Earl was a man of fine taste; and in devising modes of improving Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, was more fortunate than he had been in schemes for the alteration of her government. He gave the first hints for several of the modern improvements of the city.

The Duke of Argyle having taken the most active measures for extinguishing the embers of the rebellion, by dispersing the bodies of men who were still in arms, directed movable columns to traverse the Highlands in every direction, for receiving the submission of such as were humbled, or exercising force on those who might resist. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 27th of February, when the magistrates, who had not forgot his bold march to rescue the city when menaced by Brigadier MacIntosh, entertained him with magnificence. From thence he proceeded to London, where he was received with distinction by George I.

And now you are doubtless desirous of knowing with what new honours, augmented power, or increased wealth, the King of England rewarded the man, whose genius had supplied the place of fourfold numbers, and who had secured to his Majesty the crown of one at least of his kingdoms, at a moment when it was tottering on his head. I will answer you in a word. In a very short while after the conclusion of the war, *the Duke of Argyle was deprived of all his employments.* The cause of this extraordinary act of court ingratitude must be sought in the personal hatred of the Duke of Marlborough, in the high spirit of the Duke of Argyle, which rendered him a troublesome and unmanageable member of a ministerial cabinet, and probably in some apprehension of this great man's increasing personal influence in his native country of Scotland, where he was universally respected, and beloved by many even of the party which he had opposed in the field.

It is imagined, moreover, that the Duke's disgrace at Court was, in some degree, connected with a legislative enactment of a very doubtful tendency, which was used for the trial of the rebel prisoners. We have already mentioned the criminal proceedings under which the Preston prisoners suffered. Those who had been taken in arms at Sheriffmuir and elsewhere in Scotland, ought, according to the laws, both of Scotland and England, to have been tried in the country where the treason was committed. But the English lawyers had in recollection the proceedings in the year 1707, when it was impossible to obtain from Grand Juries in Scotland the verdict of a true bill, on which the prisoners could be sent to trial. The close connexion, by friendship and alliance, even of those families which were most opposed as Whigs and Tories, made the victorious party in Scotland unwilling to be the means of distressing the vanquished, and disposed them to afford a loop-hole for escape, even at the expense of strict justice. To obviate

the difficulties of conviction, which might have been an encouragement to future acts of high treason, it was resolved, that the Scottish offenders against the treason-laws should be tried in England, though the offence had been committed in their own country. This was no doubt extremely convenient for the prosecution, but it remains a question, where such innovations are to stop, when a government takes on itself to alter the formal proceedings of law, in order to render the conviction of criminals more easy. The Court of Oyer and Terminer sat, notwithstanding, at Carlisle, and might have been held by the same parity of reason at the Land's End in Cornwall, or in the Isles of Scilly. But there was a studied moderation towards the accused, which seemed to intimate, that if the prisoners abstained from challenging the irregularity of the court, they would be favourably dealt with. Many were set at liberty, and though twenty-four were tried and condemned, not one was ever brought to execution. It is asserted,

that the Duke of Argyle, as a Scottish man, and one of the framers of the Union, had in his Majesty's councils declared against an innovation which seemed to infringe upon that measure, and that the offence thus given contributed to the fall of his power at Court.

Free pardons were liberally distributed to all who had seceded from the Rebellion, before its final close. The Highland chiefs and clans were in general forgiven, upon submission, and a surrender of the arms of their people. This was with the disaffected chiefs a simulated transaction, no arms being given up but such as were of no value, while all that were serviceable were concealed and carefully preserved. The loyal clans, on the other hand, made an absolute surrender, and were afterwards found unarmed when the government desired their assistance.

Meantime the principles of Jacobitism continued to ferment in the interior of the country, and were inflamed by the nume-

rous exiles, men of rank and influence, who were fugitives from Britain in consequence of attainder. To check these, and to intimidate others, the estates of the attainted persons were declared forfeited to the crown, and vested in trustees, to be sold for the benefit of the public. The revenue of the whole, though comprising that of about forty families of rank and consideration, did not amount to £30,000 yearly. These forfeited estates were afterwards purchased from government by a great mercantile company in London, originally instituted for supplying the city with water by raising it from the Thames, but which having fallen under the management of speculative persons, its funds, and the facilities vested in it by charter, had been applied to very different purposes. Among others, that of purchasing the forfeited estates, was one of the boldest, and, could the company have maintained their credit, would have been one of the most lucrative transactions ever entered into. But the immediate return arising

from this immense extent of wood and wilderness, inhabited by tenants who were disposed to acknowledge no landlords but the heirs of the ancient families, and lying in remote districts, where law was trammelled by feudal privileges, and affording little protection to the intruders, was quite unequal to meet the interest of the debt which that company had incurred. The purchasers were, therefore, obliged to let the land in many cases to friends and connexions of the forfeited proprietors, through whom the exiled owners usually derived the means of subsisting in the foreign land to which their errors and misfortunes had driven them. The affairs of the York Building Company, who had in this singular manner become Scottish proprietors to an immense extent, afterwards became totally deranged, owing to the infidelity and extravagance of their managers. Attempts were, from time to time, made to sell their Scottish estates, but very inefficiently, and at great disadvantage. Men of capital showed an unwillingness to

purchase the forfeited property; and in two or three instances the dispossessed families were able to repurchase them at low rates. But after the middle of the eighteenth century, when the value of this species of property began to be better understood, rival purchasers came forward, without being deterred by the scruples which, in earlier days, prevented men from bidding against the heirs of the original possessor. Every new property as exposed to sale brought a higher price, sometimes in a tenfold proportion, than those which had been at first disposed of, and after more than a century of insolvency, the debts of the bankrupt company were completely discharged. Could they have retained their landed property, or, as was once attempted, could any other persons have been placed in the company's right to it, the emolument would have been immense.

Before proceeding to less interesting matter, I must here notice two plans originating abroad, which were founded upon

an expectation of again reviving in Scotland the intestine war of 1715. Two years after that busy period, Baron Gorz, minister of Charles XII. of Sweden, a man whose politics were as chimerical as his master's schemes of conquest, devised a confederacy for dethroning George I. and replacing on the throne the heir of the House of Stewart. His fiery master was burning with indignation at George for having possessed himself of the towns of Bremen and Verden. Charles's ancient enemy, the Czar Peter, was also disposed to countenance the scheme, and Cardinal Alberoni, then the all-powerful minister of the King of Spain, afforded it his warm support. The plan was, that a descent of ten thousand troops should be effected in Scotland, under the command of Charles XII. himself, to whose redoubted character for courage and determination the success of the enterprise was to be intrusted. It might be amusing to consider the probable consequences which might have arisen from the iron-headed Swede

placing himself at the head of an army of Highland enthusiasts, with courage as romantic as his own. In following the speculation, it might be doubted whether this leader and his troops would be more endeared to each other by a congenial audacity of mind, or alienated by Charles's habits of despotic authority, which the mountaineers would probably have found themselves unable to endure. But such a speculation would lead us far from our proper path. The conspiracy was discovered by the spies of the French government, then in strict alliance with England, and all possibility of the proposed scheme being put into execution was destroyed by the death of Charles XII. before Frederickshall, in 1718.

But although this undertaking had failed, the enterprising Alberoni continued to nourish hopes of being able to effect a counter-revolution in Great Britain, by the aid of the Spanish forces. The Chevalier de St George was, in 1719, invited to Madrid, and received there with the honours due to the

King of England. Six thousand troops, with twelve thousand stand of arms, were put on board of ten ships of war, and the whole armada was placed under the command of the Duke of Ormond. But all efforts to assist the unlucky House of Stewart were frowned on by fortune and the elements. The fleet was encountered by a severe tempest off Cape Finisterre, which drove them back to Spain, and disconcerted their whole enterprise. An inconsiderable part of the expedition, being two frigates from St Sebastian, arrived with three hundred men, some arms, ammunition, and money, at their place of destination in the island of Lewis. The exiled leaders on board were the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, and the Earl of Seaforth.

We have not had occasion to mention Seaforth since he separated from the army of Mar at the same time with the Marquis of Huntly, in order to oppose the Earl of Sutherland, whom the success of Lovat at Inverness had again brought into the field

on the part of the government. When the two Jacobite leaders reached their own territories, they found the Earl of Sutherland so strong, and the prospects of their own party had assumed so desperate an aspect, that they were induced to enter into an engagement with Sutherland to submit themselves to government. Huntly kept his promise, and never again joined the rebels, for which submission he received a free pardon. But the Earl of Seaforth again assumed arms in his island of Lewis, about the end of February, 1715-16. A detachment of regular troops was sent against the refractory chief, commanded by Colonel Cholmondely, who reduced those who were in arms. Seaforth had escaped to France, and from thence to Spain, where he had resided for some time, and was now, in 1719, dispatched to his native country, with a view to the assistance so powerful a chief could give to the projected invasion.

On his arrival at his own island of Lewis, Seaforth speedily raised a few hundred High-

landers, and crossed over to Kintail, with the purpose of giving a new impulse to the insurrection. Here he made some additions to his clan levies; but, ere he could gather any considerable force, General Wightman marched against him with a body of regular troops from Inverness, aided by the Monros, Rosses, and other loyal or whig clans of the northern Highlands.

They found Seaforth in possession of a pass called Strachells, near the great valley of Glenshiel. A desultory combat took place, in which there was much skirmishing and sharp-shooting, the Spaniards and Seaforth's men keeping the pass. George Monro, younger of Culcairn, engaged on the side of government, received during this action a severe wound, by which he was disabled for the time. As the enemy continued to fire on him, the wounded chief commanded his servant, who had waited by him, to retire, and, leaving him to his fate, to acquaint his father and friends that he had died honourably. The poor fellow burst in-

to tears, and, asking his master how he could suppose he would forsake him in that condition, he spread himself over his body, so as to intercept the balls of the enemy, and actually received several wounds designed for his master. They were both rescued from the most imminent peril by a sergeant of Culcairn's company, who had sworn an oath on his dirk that he would accomplish his chief's deliverance.

The battle was but slightly contested; but the advantage was on the side of the MacKenzies, who lost only one man, while the government troops had several killed and wounded. They were compelled to retreat without dislodging the enemy, and to leave their own wounded on the field, many of whom the victors are said to have dispatched with their dirks. But though the MacKenzies obtained a partial success, it was not such as to encourage perseverance in the undertaking, especially as their chief, Lord Seaforth, being badly wounded, could no longer direct their enterprise. They de-

termined, therefore, to disperse as soon as night fell, the rather that several of their allies were not disposed to renew the contest. One clan, for example, had been lent to Seaforth for the service of the day, under the special paction on the part of the chief, that however the battle went, they should return before next morning; this occasional assistance being only regarded in the light of a neighbourly accommodation to Lord Seaforth.

The wounded Earl, with Tullibardine and Marischal, escaped to the continent. The three hundred Spaniards next day laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. The affair of Glenshiel might be called the last faint sparkle of the great Rebellion of 1715, which was fortunately extinguished for want of fuel. A vague rumour of Earl Marischal's having re-landed had, however, wellnigh excited a number of the most zealous Jacobites once more to take the field, but it was contradicted before they adopted so rash a step.

CHAP. V.

Plans for the more effectual Pacification and Improvement of the Highlands, executed under the Superintendence of Field-Marshal Wade—Highland Roads—Tax upon Ale—Opposition to it in Scotland—Riots at Glasgow—their Suppression—The Brewers of Edinburgh refuse to continue the Brewing of Ale—but are compelled by the Court of Session to resume their Trade—Decay of Jacobitism—The Porteous Mob.

It might well have been expected, after the foundations of the throne had been so shaken by the storm in 1715, that the government would have looked earnestly into the causes which rendered the Highland clans so dangerous to the public tranquillity, and that some measures would have been taken for preventing their ready valour being abused

into the means of ruining both themselves and others. Accordingly, the English ministers lost no time in resorting to the more forcible and obvious means of military subjugation, which necessarily are, and must be, the most immediate remedy in such a case, though far from being the most effectual in the long run. The law for disarming the Highlanders, although in many cases evaded, had yet been so generally enforced as to occasion general complaints of robbery by bands of armed men, which the country had no means of resisting. Those complaints were not without foundation; but they were greatly exaggerated by Simon Fraser, now called Lord Lovat, and others, who were desirous to obtain arms for their vassals, that they might serve purposes of their own.

Accordingly, in 1724, a warrant under the sign manual was granted to Field-Marshal Wade, an officer of skill and experience, with instructions narrowly to inspect and report upon the state of the Highlands; the best measures for enforcing

the laws and protecting the defenceless; the modes of communication which might be opened through the country; and whatever other remedies might conduce to the quiet of a district so long distracted. In 1725, a new sign manual was issued to the same officer for the same purpose. In consequence of the Marshal's report, various important measures were taken. The clan of the Mac-Kenzies had for years refused to account for the rents on Seaforth's forfeited estate to the collector nominated by government, and had paid them to a factor appointed amongst themselves, who conveyed them openly to the exiled Earl. This state of things was now stopped, and the clan compelled to submit and give up their arms, the government liberally granting them an indulgence and remission for such arrears as they had transmitted to Seaforth in their obstinate fidelity to him. Other clans submitted, and made at least an ostensible surrender of their arms, although many of the

most serviceable were retained by the clans which were hostile to government. An armed vessel was stationed on Lochness, to command the shores of that extensive lake. Barracks were rebuilt in some places, founded anew in others, and filled with regular soldiers.

Another measure of very dubious utility, which had been resorted to by King William and disused by George I., was now again had recourse to. This was the establishment of independent companies to secure the peace of the Highlands, and suppress the gangs of thieves who carried on so bold a trade of depredation. These companies, consisting of Highlanders, dressed and armed in their own peculiar manner, were placed under the command of men well affected to government, or supposed to be so, and having a great interest in the Highlands. It was truly said, that such a militia, knowing the language and manners of the country, could do more than ten times the number of regular troops to put a stop

to robbery. But, on the other hand, it had been found by experience, that the privates in such corps often, from clanship or other motives, connived at the thefts, or compounded for them with the delinquents. Their officers were accused of imposing upon government by false musters; and above all, the doubtful faith even of those chiefs who made the strongest show of affection to government, rendered the re-establishment of Black soldiers, as they were called, to distinguish them from the regular troops, who wore the red national uniform, a measure of precarious policy. It was resorted to, however, and six companies were raised on this principle.

Marshal Wade had also the power of receiving submission and granting protections to outlaws or others exposed to punishment for the late rebellion, and received many of them into the King's peace accordingly. He granted, besides, licenses to drovers, foresters, dealers in cattle, and others en-

gaged in such traffic, empowering them to carry arms for the defence of their persons and property. In all his proceedings towards the Highlanders, there may be distinguished a general air of humanity and good sense, which rendered him a popular character, even while engaged in executing orders which they looked upon with the utmost degree of jealousy and suspicion.

The Jacobite partisans, in the meanwhile, partly by letters from abroad, partly by agents of ability who traversed the country on purpose, did all in their power to thwart and interrupt the measures which were taken to reduce the Highlands to a state of peaceful cultivation. The act for disarming the body of the people they represented in the most odious colours, though, indeed, it is hardly possible to aggravate the feelings of shame and dishonour in which a free people must always indulge at being deprived of the means of self-defence. And the practical doctrine was not new to them, that if the par-

ties concerned could evade this attempt to deprive them of their natural right and lawful property, either by an elusory surrender, or by such professions as might induce the government to leave them in possession of their weapons, whether under license, or as members of the independent companies, it would be no dishonour in oppressed men meeting force by craft, and eluding the unjust and unreasonable demands which they wanted means openly to resist. Much of the quiet obtained by Marshal Wade's measures was apparent only; and while he boasts that the Highlanders, instead of going armed with guns, swords, dirks, and pistols, now travelled to churches, markets, and fairs with only a staff in their hands, the veteran General was ignorant how many thousand weapons, landed from the Spanish frigates in 1719, or otherwise introduced into the country, lay n caverns and other places of concealment, ready for use when occasion should offer.

But the gigantic part of Marshal Wade's task, and that which he executed with the

most complete success, was the establishment of military roads through the rugged and desolate regions of the north, insuring the free passage of regular troops in a country, of which it might have been said, while in its natural state, that every mountain was a natural fortress, every valley a defensible pass. The roads, as they were termed, through the Highlands, had been hitherto mere tracks, made by the feet of men and the cattle which they drove before them, interrupted by rocks, morasses, torrents, and all the features of an inaccessible country, where a stranger, even unopposed, might have despaired of making his solitary way, but where the passage of a regular body of troops, with cavalry, artillery, and baggage, was altogether impossible. These rugged paths, by the labours of the soldiers employed under Field-Marshal Wade, were, by an extraordinary exertion of skill and labour, converted into excellent roads of great breadth and sound formation, which have ever since his time afforded a free and open

communication through all parts of the Scottish Highlands.

Two of these highways enter among the hills from the low country, the one at Crieff, near Stirling, the other at Dunkeld, not very far from Perth. Penetrating around the mountains from different quarters, these two branches unite at Dalnacardoch. From thence a single line leads to Dalwhinny, where it again divides into two. One road runs north-west through Garviemore, and over the tremendous pass of Corryarick, to a new fort raised by Marshal Wade, called Fort Augustus. The second line extends from Dalnacardoch north to the barracks of Ruthven, in Lochaber, and thence to Inverness. From that town it proceeds almost due westward across the island, connecting Fort Augustus above-mentioned, with Inverness, and so proceeding to Fort William, in Lochaber, traversing the country inhabited by the Camerons, the MacDonalds of Glengarry, and other clans judged to be the worst affected to the reigning family.

It is not to be supposed that the Highlanders of that period saw with indifference the defensive character of their country destroyed, and the dusky wildernesses, which had defied the approach of the Romans, rendered accessible in almost every direction to the regular troops of the government. We can suppose that it affected them as the dismantling of some impregnable citadel might do the inhabitants of the country which it protected, and that the pang which they experienced at seeing their glens exposed to a hostile, or at least a stranger force, was similar to that which they felt at the resignation of the weapons of their fathers. But those feelings and circumstances have passed away, and the Highland military roads will continue an inestimable advantage to the countries which they traverse, although no longer requiring them to check apprehended insurrection, and will long exhibit a public monument of skill and patience, not unworthy of the ancient Romans. Upon the Roman principle, also,

the regular soldiers were employed in this laborious work, and reconciled to the task by some trifling addition of pay; an experiment which succeeded so well as to excite some surprise that public works have not been more frequently executed by similar means.

Other measures of the most laudable character were resorted to by the government and their friends, for the improvement of the Highlands; but as they were of a description not qualified to produce ameliorating effects, save after a length of time, they were but carelessly urged. They related to the education of this wild population, and the care necessary to train the rising generation in moral and religious principles; but the Act of Parliament framed for this end proved in a great measure ineffectual. Those exertions, which ought to have been national, were in some degree supplied by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Isles, who, by founding chapels and

schools in different places, did more for enlightening the people of that country, than had been achieved by any prince who had yet reigned in or over Scotland.

While Marshal Wade was employed in pacifying the Highlands, and rendering them accessible to military forces, a subject of discontent broke out in the Lowlands which threatened serious consequences. The government had now become desirous to make the income of Scotland a source of revenue to the general exchequer, as hitherto it had been found scarcely adequate to maintain the public institutions of the kingdom, and to pay and support the troops which it was necessary to quarter there for the general tranquillity. Now a surplus of revenue was desirable, and the Jacobites invidiously reported that the immediate object was chiefly to find funds in Scotland for defraying an expense of about ten guineas weekly, allowed to every North British Member of Parliament, for supporting the charge of his residence in London. This expense had been

hitherto imposed on the general revenue, but now, said the Jacobites, the Scottish Members were made aware by Sir Robert Walpole, that they were to find, or acquiesce in, some mode of making up this sum out of the Scottish revenue; or, according to a significant phrase, that they must in future lay their account with tying up their stockings with their own garters.

With this view of rendering the Scottish revenue more efficient, it was resolved to impose a tax of sixpence per barrel on all ale brewed in Scotland. Upon the appearance of a desperate resistance to this proposal, the tax was lowered to threepence per barrel, or one half of what was originally proposed. In this modified proposal the Scottish Members acquiesced. Yet it did not become more popular in Scotland; for it went to enhance the rate of a commodity in daily request, and excited by the inflammatory language of those whose interest it was to incense the populace, the principal towns in Scotland prepared to resist the imposition at all hazards.

Glasgow, so eminent for its loyalty in 1715, was now at the head of this opposition; and on the 23d June, when the duty was to be laid on, the general voice of the people of that city declared that they would not submit to its payment, and piles of stones were raised against the doors of the breweries and malt-houses, with a warning to all excise officers to keep their distance. On the appearance of these alarming symptoms, two companies of foot, under Captain Bushell, were marched from Edinburgh to Glasgow to prevent further disturbances. When the soldiers arrived, they found that the mob had taken possession of the guard-house, and refused them admittance. The Provost of the city, a timid or treacherous man, prevailed on Captain Bushell to send his men into their quarters, without occupying the guard-house or any other place proper to serve for an alarm-post or rendezvous. Presently after, the rabble, becoming more and more violent, directed their fury against Daniel Campbell of Shaw-

field, member for the city, and the set of boroughs in which it is included. His mansion, then the most elegant in Glasgow, was totally destroyed; and the mob, breaking into his cellars, found fresh incitement to their fury in the liquors there contained. All this was done without opposition, although Captain Bushell offered the assistance of his soldiers to keep the peace.

Next day the Provost ventured to break open the guard-room door, and the soldiers were directed to repair thither. One or two rioters were also apprehended. Upon these symptoms of reviving authority, an alarm was beat by the mob, who assembled in a more numerous and formidable body than ever, and, surrounding Bushell's two companies, loaded them with abuse, maltreated them with stones, and compelled them at last to fire, when nine men were killed and many wounded. The rioters, undismayed, rung the alarm bell, broke into the town magazine of arms, seized all the muskets they could find, and continued the

attack on the soldiers. Captain Bushell, by the command, and at the entreaty of the Provost, now commenced a retreat to Dunbarton Castle, insulted and pursued by the mob a third part of the way.

In the natural resentment excited by this formidable insurrection, the Lord Advocate for the time (the celebrated Duncan Forbes) advanced to Glasgow, at the head of a considerable army of horse, foot, and artillery. Many threats were thrown out against the rioters, and the magistrates were severely censured for a gross breach of duty. But the cool sagacity of the Lord Advocate anticipated the difficulty which, in the inflamed state of the public mind, he was likely to experience in procuring a verdict against such offenders as he might bring to trial. So that the affair passed away with less noise than might have been expected, it having been ascertained that the riot had no political tendency; and though inflamed by the leading Jacobites, was begun and carried on by the people of Glas-

gow, solely on the principle of a resolution to drink their two-penny ale untaxed.

The metropolis of Scotland took this excise tax more coolly than the inhabitants of Glasgow, for though greatly averse to the exaction, they only opposed it by a sort of *vis inertiæ*, the principal brewers threatening to resign their trade, and, if the impost was continued, to brew no more ale for the supply of the public. The Lords of the Court of Session declared by an Act of Sederunt, that the brewers had no right to withdraw themselves from their occupation; and when the brewers, in reply, attempted to show that they could not be legally compelled to follow their trade, after it had been rendered a losing one, the Court appointed their petition to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, assuring them they would be allowed no alternative between the exercise of their trade or imprisonment. Finally, four of the recusants were actually thrown into jail, which greatly shook the firmness of these refractory fermentators, and at length reflect-

ing that the ultimate loss must fall not on them, but on the public, they returned to the ordinary exercise of their trade, and quietly paid the duties imposed on their liquor.

The Union having now begun in some degree to produce beneficial effects, the Jacobite party were gradually losing much of the influence over the public mind which had arisen out of the general prejudices against that measure, and the natural disgust at the manner in which it was carried on and concluded. Accordingly, the next narrative of a historical character which occurs as proper to tell you, is unmingled with politics of Whig and Tory, and must be simply regarded as a strong and powerful display of the cool, stern, and resolved manner in which the Scottish, even of the lower classes, can concert and execute a vindictive purpose.

The coast of Fife, full of little boroughs and petty seaports, was, of course, much frequented by smugglers, men constant-

ly engaged in disputes with the excise officers, which were sometimes attended with violence. Wilson and Robertson, two persons of inferior rank, but rather distinguished in the contraband trade, had sustained great loss by a seizure of smuggled goods. The step from illicit trading to positive robbery is not a long one. The two men robbed the collector, to indemnify themselves from the effects of the seizure. They were tried before the Court of Justiciary, and condemned to death.

While the two criminals were lying under sentence in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, they obtained possession of a file, with which they rid themselves of their irons, and cut through a bar in the jail window. One of them at least might have made his escape, but for the obstinacy of Wilson. This man, of a bulky person, insisted on making the first essay of the breach which had been accomplished, and having stuck fast between the bars, was unable either to get through or to return back. Discovery

was the consequence, and precautions were taken against any repetition of such attempts to escape. Wilson reflected bitterly on himself for not having permitted his comrade to make the first trial, to whom, as being light and slender, the bars would have been no obstacle. He resolved, with a spirit worthy of a better man, to atone to his companion, at all risks, for the injury he had done him.

At this time it was the custom in Edinburgh for criminals under sentence of death to be carried, under a suitable guard, to hear divine service in a church adjacent to the prison. Wilson and Robertson were brought thither accordingly, under the custody of four soldiers of the city-guard. When the service was over, Wilson, who was a very strong man, suddenly seized a soldier with each hand, and calling to his comrade to fly for his life, detained a third by grappling his collar with his teeth. Robertson shook himself clear of the fourth, and making his escape over the pews of the church, was no more heard of in Edinburgh. The

common people, to whose comprehension the original crime for which the men were condemned had nothing very abhorrent in it, were struck with the generosity and self-devotion that this last action evinced, and took such an interest in Wilson's fate, that it was generally rumoured there would be an attempt to rescue him at the place of execution. To prevent, as was their duty, any riotous plan of this kind, the magistrates ordered a party of the guard of the city, a sort of *Maréchaussée* or *gens d'armes*, armed and trained as soldiers, to protect the execution.

The captain of the party was the celebrated John Porteous, whose name will long be remembered in Scotland. This man, whose father was a burgess and citizen of Edinburgh, had himself been bred in the regular army, circumstances which recommended him to the magistrates, when in the year 1715 they were desirous to give their civic guard something of a more effective military character. As an active police officer Porteous was necessarily often in collision with the rabble of the city, and being strict, and even se-

vere in the manner in which he repressed and chastised petty riots and delinquencies, he was, as is usual with persons of his calling, extremely unpopular and odious to the rabble. They also accused him of abusing the authority reposed in him, to protect the extravagancies of the rich and powerful, while he was inexorable in punishing the license of the poor. Porteous had besides a good deal of the pride of his profession, and seems to have been determined to show that the corps he commanded was adequate, without assistance, to dispel any commotion in the city of Edinburgh. For this reason, he considered it rather as an affront that the magistrates, on occasion of Wilson's execution, had ordered Moyle's regiment to be drawn up in the suburbs to enforce order, should the city-guard be unable to maintain it. It is probable from what followed, that the men commanded by Porteous shared their leader's jealousy of the regular troops, and his dislike to the populace, with whom in the execution of their duty, they were often engaged in hostilities.

The execution of Wilson, on the 14th of April, 1736, took place in the usual manner, without any actual or menaced interruption. The criminal, according to his sentence, was hanged to the death, and it was not till the corpse was cut down that the mob, according to their common practice, began to insult and abuse the executioner, pelting him with stones, many of which were also thrown at the soldiers. At former executions it had been the custom for the city-guard to endure such insults with laudable patience, but on this occasion they were in such a state of irritation, that they forgot their usual moderation, and repaid the pelting of the mob by pouring amongst them a fire of musketry, killing and wounding many persons. In their retreat also to the guard-house, as the rabble pressed on them with furious execrations, some soldiers in the rear of the march again faced round and renewed the fire. In consequence of this unauthorized and unnecessary violence, and to satisfy the community of Edinburgh

for the blood which had been rashly shed, the Magistrates were inclined to have taken Porteous to trial under the Lord Provost's authority as High Sheriff within the city. Being advised, however, by the lawyers whom they consulted, that such proceeding would be subject to challenge, Porteous was brought to trial for murder before the High Court of Justiciary. He denied that he ever gave command to fire, and it was proved that the fusce which he himself carried had never been discharged. On the other hand, in the perplexed and contradictory evidence which was obtained, where so many persons witnessed the same events from different positions, and perhaps with different feelings, there were witnesses who said that they saw Porteous take a musket from one of his men, and fire it directly at the crowd. A jury of incensed citizens took the worst view of the case, and found the prisoner guilty of murder. At this time King George II. was on the continent, and the regency was chiefly in the hands of Queen Caroline, a woman of very considerable talent, and na-

turally disposed to be tenacious of the crown's rights. It appeared to her Majesty, and her advisers, that though the action of Porteous and his soldiers was certainly rash and unwarranted, yet that, considering the purpose by which it was dictated, it must fall considerably short of the guilt of murder. Captain Porteous, in the discharge of a duty imposed on him by legal authority, had unquestionably been assaulted without provocation on his part, and had therefore a right to defend himself; and if there were excess in the means he had recourse to, yet a line of conduct originating in self-defence cannot be extended into murder, though it might amount to homicide. Moved by these considerations, the Regency granted a reprieve of Porteous's sentence, preliminary to his obtaining a pardon, which might perhaps have been clogged with some conditions.

When the news of the reprieve reached Edinburgh, they were received with gloomy and general indignation. The lives which had been taken in the affray were not those

of persons of the meanest rank, for the soldiers, of whom many, with natural humanity, desired to fire over the heads of the rioters, had, by so doing, occasioned additional misfortune, several of the balls taking effect in windows which were crowded with spectators, and killing some persons of good condition. A great number, therefore, of all ranks, were desirous that Porteous should atone with his own life for the blood which had been so rashly spilt by those under his command. A general feeling seemed to arise, unfavourable to the unhappy criminal, and public threats were cast out, though the precise source could not be traced, that the reprieve itself should not save Porteous from the vengeance of the citizens of Edinburgh.

The 7th day of September, the day previous to that appointed for his execution, had now arrived, and Porteous, confident of his speedy deliverance from jail, had given an entertainment to a party of friends, whom he feasted within the tolbooth, when the festivity was strangely interrupted. Edinburgh was then surrounded by a wall on the east

and south sides; on the west it was defended by the castle, on the north by a lake called the North Loch. The gates were regularly closed in the evening, and guarded. It was about the hour of shutting the ports, as they were called, when a disorderly assemblage began to take place in the suburb called Portsburgh, a quarter which has been always the residence of labourers and persons generally of inferior rank. The rabble continued to gather to a head, and, to augment their numbers, beat a drum which they had taken from the man who exercised the function of drummer to the suburb. Finding themselves strong enough to commence their purposes, they seized on the West-port, nailed and barricaded it. Then going along the Cowgate and gaining the High-street by the numerous lanes which run between these two principal streets of the Old Town, they secured the Cowgate-port and that of the Netherbow, and thus, except on the side of the Castle, entirely separated the city from such military forces as were quartered in the suburbs.

The next object of the mob was to attack the city-guard, a few of whom were upon duty as usual. These the rioters stripped of their arms, and dismissed from their rendezvous, but without otherwise maltreating them, though the agents of the injury of which they complained. The various halberds, Lochaber axes, muskets, and other weapons, which they found in the guard-house, served to arm the rioters, a large body of whom now bent their way to the door of the jail, while another body, with considerable regularity, drew up across the front of the Luckenbooths. The magistrates, with such force as they could collect, made an effort to disperse the multitude. They were strenuously repulsed, but with no more violence than was necessary to show that, while the populace were firm in their purpose, they meant to accomplish it with as little injury as possible to any one excepting their destined victim. There might have been some interruption of their undertaking, had the soldiers of Moyle's regiment made their way into the town from the Canongate,

where they were quartered, or had the garrison descended from the Castle. But neither Colonel Moyle nor the governor of the Castle chose to interfere on their own responsibility, and no one dared to carry a written warrant to them on the part of the magistrates.

In the meantime the multitude demanded that Porteous should be delivered up to them; and as they were refused admittance to the jail, they prepared to burst open the doors. The outer gate, as was necessary to serve the purpose, was of such uncommon strength as to resist the united efforts of the rioters, though they employed sledge hammers and iron crows to force it open. Fire was at length called for, and a large bonfire, maintained with tar-barrels and such ready combustibles, soon burnt a hole in the door, through which the jailor flung the keys. This gave the rioters free entrance. Without troubling themselves about the fate of the other criminals, who naturally took the opportunity of escaping, the rioters or their leaders went in search of

Porteous. They found him concealed in the chimney of his apartment, which he was prevented from ascending by a grating that ran across the vent, as is usual in such edifices. The rioters dragged their victim out of his concealment, and commanded him to prepare to undergo the death he had deserved; nor did they pay the least attention either to his prayers for mercy, or to the offers by which he endeavoured to purchase his life. Yet, amid all their obduracy of vengeance there was little tumult, and no more violence than was inseparable from the action which they meditated. Porteous was permitted to intrust what money or papers he had with him to a friend, for the behoof of his family. One of the rioters, a grave and respectable-looking man, undertook, in the capacity of a clergyman, to give him ghostly consolation suited to his circumstances, as one who had not many minutes to live. He was conducted from the tolbooth to the Grassmarket, which, both as being the usual place of execution and the scene where their victim had fired,

or caused his soldiers to fire, on the citizens, was selected as the place of punishment. They marched in a sort of procession, guarded by a band of the rioters, miscellaneously armed with muskets, battle-axes, &c., which were taken from the guard-house, while others carried links or flambeaux. Porteous was in the midst of them, and as he refused to walk, he was carried by two of the rioters on what is in Scotland called the King's cushion, by which two persons alternately grasping each other's wrists, form a kind of seat on the backs of their hands, upon which a third may be placed. They were so cool as to halt when one of the slippers dropped from his foot, till it was picked up and replaced.

The citizens of the better class looked from their windows on this extraordinary scene, but terrified beyond the power of interference, if they had possessed the will. In descending the West Bow, which leads to the place of execution, the rioters, or conspirators,—a term, perhaps, more suited to

men of their character,—provided themselves with a coil of ropes, by breaking into the booth of a dealer in such articles, and left at the same time a guinea to pay for it; a precaution which would hardly have occurred to men of the lowest class, of which in external appearance the mob seemed to consist. A cry was next raised for the gallows, in order that Porteous might die according to all the ceremony of the law. But as this instrument of punishment was kept in a distant part of the town, so that time must be lost in procuring it, they proceeded to hang the unfortunate man over a dyer's pole, as near to the place of execution as possible. The poor man's efforts to save himself only added to his tortures; for as he tried to keep hold of the beam to which he was suspended, they struck his hands with guns and Lochaber axes, to make him quit his hold, so that he suffered more than usual in the struggle which dismissed him from life.

When Porteous was dead the rioters dis-

persed, withdrawing without noise or disturbance all the outposts which they had occupied for preventing interruption, and leaving the city so quiet, that had it not been for the relics of the fire which had been applied to the jail-door; the arms which lay scattered in disorder on the street, as the rioters had flung them down; and the dead body of Porteous, which remained suspended in the place where he died; there was no visible symptom of so violent an explosion of popular fury having taken place.

The government, highly offended at such a daring contempt of authority, imposed on the Crown counsel the task of prosecuting the discovery of the rioters with the utmost care. The report of Mr Charles Erskine, then Solicitor-General, is now before me, and bears witness to his exertions in tracing the reports, which were numerous, in assigning to various persons particular shares in this nocturnal outrage. All of them, however, when examined, proved totally

groundless, and it was evident that they had been either wilful falsehoods, sent abroad to deceive and mislead the investigators, or at least idle and unauthenticated rumours which arise out of such commotions, like bubbles on broken and distracted waters. A reward of two hundred pounds was offered by government, for the discovery of any person concerned in the riot, but without success.

Only a single person was proved to have been present at the mob, and the circumstances in which he stood placed him out of the reach of punishment. He was footman to a lady of rank, and a creature of weak intellects. Being sent into Edinburgh on a message by his mistress, he had drunk so much liquor as to deprive him of all capacity whatever, and in this state mixed with the mob, some of whom put a halberd in his hand. But the witnesses who proved this apparent accession to the mob, proved also that the accused could not stand without the support

of the rioters, and was totally incapable of knowing for what purpose they were assembled, and consequently of approving of or aiding their guilt. He was acquitted accordingly, to the still further dissatisfaction of the Ministry, and of Queen Caroline, who considered the commotion, and the impunity with which it was followed, as an insult to her personal authority.

A bill was prepared and brought into Parliament, for the punishment of the city of Edinburgh, in a very vindictive spirit, proposing to abolish the city charter, demolish the city walls, take away the town-guard, and declare the provost incapable of holding any office of public trust. A long investigation took place on the occasion, in which many persons were examined at the bar of the House of Lords, without throwing the least light on the subject of the Porteous Mob, or the character of the persons by whom it was conducted. The penal conclusions of the bill were strenuously combated by the Duke of Argyle, Duncan For-

bes, and others, who represented the injustice of punishing with dishonour the capital of Scotland for the insolence of a lawless mob, which, taking advantage of a moment of security, had committed a great breach of the peace, attended with a cruel murder. As men's minds cooled, the obnoxious clauses were dropped out of the bill, and at length its penal consequences were restricted to a fine of L.2000 sterling on the city, to be paid for the use of Captain Porteous's widow. This person, having received other favours from the town, accepted of L.1500 in full of the fine; and so ended the affair so far as the city of Edinburgh was concerned.

But, as if some fatality had attended the subject, a clause was thrown in, compelling the ministers of the Scottish church to read a proclamation from the pulpit, once every month during the space of a whole year, calling on the congregation to do all in their power for discovering and bringing to justice the murderers of Captain Porteous, or any of them, and noticing the re-

ward which government had promised to such as should bring the malefactors to conviction. Many of the Scottish clergy resented this imposition, as indecorously rendering the pulpit a vehicle for a hue and cry, and still more as an attempt, on the part of the state, to interfere with the spiritual authorities of the kirk, which amounted, in their opinion, to an Erastian heresy. Neither was it held to be matter of indifference, that, in reading the proclamation of the legislature, the clergymen were compelled to describe the bishops as the "Lords spiritual in parliament assembled;" an epithet seemingly acknowledging the legality and the rank of an order disavowed by all true Calvinists. The dispute was the more violent, as it was immediately subsequent to a schism in the church, on the fruitful subject of patronage, which had divided from the communion of the established church of Scotland that large class of dissenters, generally called Seceders. Much ill blood was excited, and great dissensions

took place betwixt those clergymen who did, and those who did not, read the proclamation. This controversy, like others, had its hour, during which little else was spoken of, until in due time the subject was worn threadbare and forgotten.

The origin of the Porteous Mob continued long to exercise the curiosity of those by whom the event was remembered, and from the extraordinary mixture of prudence and audacity with which the purpose of the multitude had been conceived and executed, as well as the impenetrable secrecy with which the enterprise was carried through, the public were much inclined to suspect that there had been among its actors men of rank and character, far superior to that belonging to the multitude who were the ostensible agents. Broken and imperfect stories were told of men in the disguise of women and of common artizans, whose manner betrayed a sex and manners different from what their garb announced. Others laughed at these as unauthorized exaggerations,

and contended that no class were so likely to frame or execute the plan for the murder of the police officer, as the populace to whom his official proceedings had rendered him obnoxious, and that the secrecy so wonderfully preserved on the occasion arose out of the constancy and fidelity which the Scottish people observe towards each other when engaged in a common cause. Nothing is, or probably ever will be, known with certainty on the subject; but it is understood, that several young men left Scotland in apprehension of the strict scrutiny which was made into that night's proceedings; and in your grandfather's younger days, the voice of fame pointed out individuals, who, long absent from that country, had returned from the East and West Indies in improved circumstances, as persons who had fled abroad on account of the Porteous Mob. One story of the origin of the conspiracy was stated to me with so much authority, and seemed in itself so simple and satisfactory, that although the degree of

proof, upon investigation, fell far short of what was necessary as full evidence, I cannot help considering it as the most probable account of the mysterious affair. A man, who long bore an excellent character, and filled a place of some trust as forester and carpenter to a gentleman of fortune in Fife, was affirmed to have made a confession on his death-bed, that he had been not only one of the actors in the hanging of Porteous, but one of the secret few by whom the deed was schemed and set on foot. Twelve persons of the village of Path-head—so this man's narrative was said to proceed—resolved that Porteous should die, to atone for the life of Wilson, with whom many of them had been connected by the ties of friendship and joint adventure in illicit trade, and for the death of those shot at the execution. This vengeful band crossed the Forth by different ferries, and met together at a solitary place near the city, where they distributed the party which were to act in the business

which they had in hand; and giving a beginning to the enterprise, soon saw it undertaken by the populace of the city, whose minds were precisely in that state of irritability which disposed them to follow the example of a few desperate men. According to this account, most of the original devisers of the scheme fled to foreign parts, the surprise of the usual authorities having occasioned some days to pass over ere the investigations of the affair were commenced. On making enquiry of the surviving family of this old man, they were found disposed to treat the rumoured confession as a fiction, and to allege that although he was of an age which seemed to support the story, and had gone abroad shortly after the Porteous Mob, yet he had never acknowledged any accession to it, but on the contrary, maintained his innocence when taxed, as he sometimes was, with having a concern in the affair. The report, however, though probably untrue in many of its circumstances, yet seems to give a very

probable account of the origin of the riot in the vindictive purpose of a few resolute men, whose example was quickly followed by the multitude, already in a state of mind to catch fire from the slightest spark.

This extraordinary and mysterious outrage seems to be the only circumstance which can be interesting to you, as exclusively belonging to the history of Scotland, betwixt the years immediately succeeding the civil war of 1715, and those preceding the last explosion of Jacobitism in that country, in 1745-6.

CHAP. VI.

State of the Lowlands—Landlords and Tenants—State of Learning—Bad effect of Oaths of Office—Decay of the Feudal Authority of Landlords—State of the Highlands—Influence of the Chiefs over their Clans—Cameron of Lochiel and Fraser of Lovat—Unpopularity of the Two First Georges, and of Walpole's Administration—Marriage of the Chevalier de St George—Petty Intrigues among his Adherents—Character of Prince Charles Edward—Resolution of Prince Charles to try his fortune in Scotland—he Embarks—and Lands at Moidart.—Note, Personal Appearance and Demeanour of Prince Charles.

After the temporary subjection of the Highlands in 1720, and the years immediately succeeding, had been in appearance completed, by the establishment of garrisons, the formation of military roads, and the general submission of the Highland clans who were most opposed to government, Scot-

land enjoyed a certain degree of internal repose, if not of prosperity. To estimate the nature of this calm, we must look at the state of the country in two points of view, as it concerned the Highlands and the Lowlands.

In the Lowlands a superior degree of improvement began to take place, by the general influence of civilisation, rather than by the effect of any specific legislative enactment. The ancient laws, which vested the administration of justice in the aristocracy, continued to be a cause of poverty amongst the tenantry of the country. Every gentleman of considerable estate possessed the power of a baron, or lord of regality, and by means of a deputy, who was usually his factor or land-steward, exercised the power of dispensing justice, both civil and criminal, to those in his neighbourhood. In the most ordinary class of lawsuits one party was thus constituted the judge in his own cause; for in all cases betwixt landlord and tenant, the questions were decided in the court of the baron, where the landlord, by means of an obsequious deputy, in fact possessed the

judicial power. The nature of the engagements between the proprietor and the cultivator of the ground, rendered the situation of the latter one of great hardship. The tenants usually held their farms from year to year, and from the general poverty of the country, could pay but little rent in money. The landlords, who were usually struggling to educate their children, and set them out in the world, were also necessitous, and pursued indirect expedients for subjecting the tenants in services of a nature which had a marked connexion with the old slavish feudal tenures. Thus the tenant was bound to grind his meal at the baron's mill, and to pay certain heavy duties for the operation, though he could have had it ground more conveniently and cheaply elsewhere. In some instances he was also obliged to frequent the brewery of his landlord. In almost every case, he was compelled to discharge certain services, of driving coals, casting peats,* or similar domestic labour, for the

* *i. e.* Digging moss for fuel.

proprietor. In this manner the tenant was often called upon to perform the field work of the laird when that of his own farm was in arrear, and deprived of that freedom of employing his powers of labour to the best possible account, which is the very soul of agriculture.

Nevertheless, though the Scottish lairds had the means of oppression in their hands, a judicious perception of their own interest prevented many, and doubtless a sense of justice warned others, from abusing those rights to the injury of their people. The custom, too, of giving farms in lease to younger sons or other near relatives, tended to maintain the farmers above the rank of mere peasantry, into which they must have otherwise sunk; and as the Scottish landholders of those days lived economically, and upon terms of kindness with their tenants, there were fewer instances of oppression or ill usage than might have been expected from a system which was radically bad, and which, if the proprietors had been

more rapacious, and the estates committed to the management of a mere factor or middle-man, who was to make the most of them, must have led to a degree of distress which never appears to have taken place in Scotland. Both parties were in general poor, but they united their efforts to bear their indigence with patience.

The younger sons of gentlemen usually went abroad in some line of life in which they might speedily obtain wealth, or at least the means of subsistence. The colonies afforded opportunities of advancement to many; others sought fortune in England, where the calmer and more provident character of the nation, joined with the ready assistance which each Scotsman who attained prosperity extended to those who were struggling for it, very often led to success. The elder sons of the Scottish landholders were generally, like those of France, devoted to the law or to the sword, so that in one way or other they might add some means of increase to the family estates. Commerce

was advancing by gradual steps. The colonial trade had opened slow but increasing sources of exertion to Glasgow, which is so conveniently situated for the trade with North America, of which that enterprising town early acquired a respectable portion.

The Church of Scotland still afforded a respectable asylum for such as were disposed to turn their thoughts towards it. It could, indeed, in no shape afford wealth, but it gave sufficiency for the moderate wants of a useful clergyman, and a degree of influence over the minds of men, which, to a generous spirit, is more valuable than opulence. The respectability of the situation, and its importance in society, reconciled the clergyman to its poverty, an evil little felt, where few could be termed rich.

Learning was not so accurately cultivated as in the sister country. But although it was rare to find a Scottish gentleman, even when a divine or lawyer, thoroughly grounded in classical lore, it was still more uncommon to find men in the higher ranks who did not possess a general tincture of

etters, or, thanks to their system of paro-
chial education, individuals even in the low-
est classes, without the knowledge of read-
ng, writing, and arithmetic. A certain de-
gree of pedantry, indeed, was considered as
a characteristic of the nation, and the limited
scholarship which it argued, proved eminent-
y useful to Scotsmen, who, going abroad,
or to England, which they considered as a
foreign country, mixed in the struggle for
success with the advantage of superior infor-
mation over those of the same class else-
where. Thomson, Mallet, and others en-
gaged in the pursuits of literature, were con-
ent to receive their reward from the sister
country; and if we except the Poems of
Allan Ramsay, praised by his countrymen,
but neither relished nor understood by South
Britons, the Scots made little figure in com-
position, compared to the period of Gawin
Douglas and Dunbar. Upon the whole, the
situation of Scotland during the early part
f the eighteenth century, was like that of
newly transplanted forest-tree, strong
nough to maintain itself in its new situa-

tion, but too much influenced by the recent violence of the change of position, to develop with freedom its principles of growth or increase.

The principal cause which rendered Scotland stationary in its advance towards improvement, was the malevolent influence of political party. No efforts seem to have been made to heal the rankling wounds which the civil war of 1715 had left behind it. The party in favour failed not, as is always the case, to represent those who were excluded from it as the most dangerous enemies of the king on the throne, and the constitution by which he reigned; and those who were branded as Jacobites were confirmed in their opinions, by finding themselves shut out from all prospect of countenance and official employment. Almost all beneficial situations were barred against those who were suspected of harbouring such sentiments, by the necessity imposed on them, not only of taking oaths to the established government, but also such as ex-

pressly denounced and condemned the political opinions of those who differed from it. Men of high spirit and honourable feelings were averse to take oaths by which they were required openly to stigmatize and disown the opinions of their fathers and nearest relatives, although perhaps they themselves saw the fallacy of the proscribed tenets, and were disposed tacitly to abandon them. Those of the higher class, once falling under suspicion, were thus excluded from the bar and the army, which we have said were the professions embraced by the elder sons of gentlemen. The necessary consequence was, that the sons of Jacobite families went into foreign service, and drew closer those connexions with the exiled family, which they might have otherwise been induced to drop, and became confirmed in their party opinions, even from the measures employed to suppress them. In the rank immediately lower, many young men of decent families were induced to renounce the privileges of their birth, and undertake mechanical employments, in which their

conduct could not be obstructed by the imposition of the obnoxious oaths.

It was fortunate for the peace of the kingdom, that, though many of the landed gentry were still much imbued with the principles of Jacobitism, they did not retain the influence which so long rendered them the active disturbers of the government; for, although the feudal rights still subsisted in form, it was now a more difficult matter for a great lord to draw into the field the vassals who held of him by military tenure. The various confiscations which had taken place operated as serious warnings to such great families as those of Gordon, Athole, Seaforth, or others, how they rashly hoisted the standard of rebellion, while the provisions of the Clan Act and other statutes, enabled the vassal so summoned to dispense with attendance upon it, without hazarding, as in former times, the forfeiture of his fief. Nor was the influence of the gentry and landed proprietors over the farmers and cultivators of the soil less diminished than that of the great nobles.

When the proprietors, as was now generally the case throughout the Lowlands, became determined to get the highest rent they could obtain for their land, the farmer did not feel his situation either so easy or so secure, that he should, in addition, be called on to follow his landlord to battle. It must also be remembered, that though many gentlemen, on the north of the Tay especially, were of the Episcopal persuasion, which was almost synonymous with being Jacobites, a great proportion of the lower classes were Presbyterian in their form of worship, and whigs in political principle, and every way adverse to the counter-revolution which it was the object of their landlords to establish. In the south and west, the influence of the established religion was general amongst both gentry and peasantry.

The fierce feelings occasioned throughout Scotland generally, by the recollections of the Union, had died away with the generation which experienced them, and the benefits of the treaty began to be visibly, though slowly, influential on their descendants.

The Lowlands, therefore, being by far the wealthiest and most important part of Scotland, were much disposed to peace, the rather that those who might have taken some interest in creating fresh disturbances, had their power of doing so greatly diminished.

It is also to be considered, that the Lowlanders of this later period were generally deprived of arms, and unaccustomed to use them. The Act of Security, in the beginning of the 18th century, had been made the excuse for introducing quantities of arms into Scotland, and disciplining the population to the use of them; but the consequences of this general arming and training act had long ceased to operate, and, excepting the militia, which were officered, and received a sort of discipline, the use of arms was totally neglected in the Lowlands of Scotland.

The Highlands were in a very different state, and from the tenacity with which the inhabitants retained the dress, language, manners, and customs of their fathers, more nearly resembled their predecessors of cen-

turies long since past, than any other nation in Europe. It is true, they were no longer the ignorant and irreclaimable barbarians, in which light they were to be regarded so late perhaps as the sixteenth century. Civilisation had approached their mountains. Their manners were influenced by the presence of armed strangers, whose fortresses were a check to the fire of their restless courage. They were obliged to yield subjection to the law, and, in appearance at least, to pay respect to those by whom it was administered. But the patriarchal system still continued, with all the good and bad which attached to its influence. The chief was still the leader in war, the judge and protector in peace. The whole income of the tribe, consisting of numerous but petty articles of rude produce, was paid into the purse of the chief, and served to support the rude hospitality of his household, which was extended to the poorest of the clan. It was still the object of each leader, by all possible means, to augment the number capable of

bearing arms; and, of course, they did not hesitate to harbour on their estates an excess of population, idle, haughty, and warlike, whose only labour was battle and the chase, and whose only law was the command of their chieftain.

It is true, that, in the eighteenth century, we no longer hear of the chiefs taking arms in their own behalf, or fighting pitched battles with each other, nor did they, as formerly, put themselves at the head of the parties which ravaged the estates of rival clans or the Lowlands. The creaghs or inroads took place in a less open and avowed manner than formerly, and were interrupted frequently both by the regular soldiers from the garrisons, and by the soldiers of the independent companies, called the Black Watch. Still, however, it was well understood that on the estates, or *countries*, as they are called, of the great chiefs, there was suffered to exist, under some bond of understood but unavowed conditions of allegiance on the one side, and protection on the other, amongst pathless woods and

gloomy valleys, gangs of banditti ready to execute the will of the chief by whom they were sheltered, and upon a hint darkly given and easily caught up, willingly disposed to avenge his real or supposed wrongs. Thus the celebrated Rob Roy, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, was able, though an outlawed and desperate man, to maintain himself against every effort of the Montrose family, by the connivance which he received from that of Argyle, who allowed him, as the phrase then went, "wood and water," that is to say, the protection of their lakes and forests.

This primitive state of things must, in the gradual course of events, have suffered great innovations. The young Highlanders of fortune received their education in English or Lowland schools, and, gradually adopting the ideas of those with whom they were brought up, must have learned to value themselves less on their solitary and patriarchal power, than on the articles of personal expenditure and display which gave distinction to those around them. This new passion

would have been found in time inconsistent with the performance of the duties which the tribe expected and exacted from their chief, and the bonds which connected them, though so singularly intimate, must have in time given way. The Reverend Mr Rae, historian of the Rebellion in 1715, states that, even in his own time, causes of the nature we have hinted at were beginning to operate, and that some chiefs, with the *spaghlin*, or assumption of consequence not uncommon to the Celtic race, had addicted themselves to expenses and luxuries to which their incomes were not equal, and which began already to undermine their patriarchal power and authority over their clans.

But the operation of such causes, naturally slow, was rendered almost imperceptible, if not altogether neutralized, by the strong and counteracting stimulus afforded by the feelings of jacobitism common to the western chiefs. These persons and their relations had many of them been educated or served as soldiers abroad, and were in close intercourse with the exiled family, who

omitted no means by which they could ensure the attachment of men so able to serve them. The communication of the Stewart family with the Highlands was constant and unceasing, and was, no doubt, most effectual in maintaining the patriarchal system in its integrity. Each chief looked upon himself as destined to be raised to greatness by the share he might be able to take in the eventful and impending struggle which was one day to restore the House of Stewart to the throne, and that share must be greater or less according to the number of men at whose head he might take the field. This prospect, which to their sanguine eyes appeared a near one, was a motive which influenced the lives, and regulated the conduct, of the Highland chiefs, and which had its natural effect in directing their emulous attention to cement the bonds of clanship, that might otherwise have been gradually relaxed.

But though almost all the chiefs were endeavouring to preserve their people in a

state to take the field, and to assist the cause of the heir of the Stewart family when the moment of enterprise should arrive, yet the individual character of each modified the manner in which he endeavoured to provide for this common object; and I cannot propose to you a stronger contrast than the manner in which the patriarchal power was exercised by Donald Cameron of Lochiel, and the notorious Fraser of Lovat.

The former was one of the most honourable and well-intentioned persons in whom the patriarchal power was ever lodged. He was grandson of that Sir Ewan Dhu, or Black Sir Evan, who made so great a figure in Cromwell's time, and of whom I have already told you many stories in a former volume of this little work.* Far from encouraging

* I there said that Sir Ewan Dhu lived to extreme old age, and that he sunk at length into a sort of second childhood, and was rocked to sleep like an infant; but I have since had reason to think that the last part of the tradition was an exaggeration. The ancient chieftain used a contrivance, such as is sometimes applied to sick beds in the present day, for enabling the patient to turn himself in

the rapine which had been, for a long time, objected to the men of Lochaber, he made the most anxious exertions to put a stop to it by severe punishment; and, while he protected his own people and his allies, would not permit them to inflict any injury upon others. He encouraged among them such kinds of industry as they could be made to apply themselves to; and in general united

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bed; and it was undoubtedly some misconception of the purpose of this machine which produced the report of his being rocked in a cradle. He was in perfect possession of his faculties during the year 1715, and expressed great regret that his clan, the Camerons, being in the Earl of Mar's left wing, had been compelled to fly on that occasion. "The Camerons," he said, "were more numerous than they were in his day, but they were become much less warlike." This was a reproach which the clan speedily wiped away. From the evidence preserved in the family, it appears Sir Ewan had preserved to the extremity of human life the daring expression of command which dignified his features, the tenacious power of his gripe, and his acute resentment of injuries. An English officer, who came from Fort-William on a visit, having made use of some words which the old chief took amiss, he looked on him sternly, and said, "Had you used that expression but a few months since, you had never lived to repeat it."

the high spirit of a Highland chief with the sense and intelligence of a well-educated English gentleman of fortune. Although possessed of an estate, of which the income hardly amounted to seven hundred a-year, this celebrated chief brought fourteen hundred men into the Rebellion, and he was honourably distinguished by his endeavours on all occasions to mitigate the severities of war, and deter the insurgents from acts of vindictive violence.

A different picture must be presented of Lord Lovat, whose irregular ambition induced him to play the Highland chief to the very utmost, while he cared for nothing save the means of applying the power implied in the character to the advancement of his own interest. His hospitality was exuberant, yet was regulated by means which savoured much of a paltry economy. His table was filled with Frasers, all of whom he called his cousins, but took care that the fare with which they were regaled was adapted, not to the supposed equality, but to the

actual importance of his guests. Thus the claret did not pass below a particular mark on the table; those who sat beneath that limit had some cheaper liquor, which had also its bounds of circulation; and the clansmen at the extremity of the board were served with single ale. Still it was drunk at the table of their chief, and that made amends for all. Lovat had a Lowland estate, where he fleeced his tenants without mercy, for the sake of maintaining his Highland military retainers. He was a master of the Highland character, and knew how to avail himself of its peculiarities. He knew every one whom it was convenient for him to caress; had been acquainted with his father; remembered the feats of his ancestors, and was profuse in his complimentary expressions of praise and fondness. If a man of substance offended Lovat, or, which was the same thing, if he possessed a troublesome claim against him, and was determined to enforce it, one would have thought that all the plagues of Egypt had been denoun-

ced against the obnoxious individual. His house was burnt, his flocks driven off, his cattle houghed; and if the perpetrators of such outrages were secured, the jail of Inverness was never strong enough to detain them till punishment. They always broke prison. With persons of low rank, less ceremony was used; and it was not uncommon for witnesses to appear against them for some imaginary crime, for which Lord Lovat's victims suffered the punishment of transportation.

We cannot wonder that a man of Lovat's disposition should also play the domestic tyrant; but it would be difficult to conceive the excess to which he carried enormities in this character. After his return to Scotland in 1715, he was twice married; first, in 1717, to a daughter of the Laird of Grant, by whom he had two sons and two daughters; his second, or rather his third, wife was a Campbell, a relation of the Argyle family. It is supposed he married her with a view to secure the friendship of that great

family. Finding himself disappointed in this expectation, he vented his resentment on the poor lady, whom he shut up in a turret of his castle, neither affording her food, clothes, or other necessaries, in a manner suitable to her education, nor permitting her to go abroad, or to receive any friend within doors. Dark rumours went forth of the treatment of the wife of this daring chief, who had thus vanished from society. She had a friend, whose fearless interest in her fate induced her to surmount all sense of personal danger, and to visit Castle Downie with the purpose of ascertaining the situation of Lady Lovat. She contrived to announce her arrival so unexpectedly, as to leave Lovat no apology by which he could escape her intrusive visit. He took his resolution, went to the prison-chamber of his unfortunate wife, and announced to her the arrival of her friend. "As it is my pleasure, madam," he said, "that you receive your visitor in the character of a contented and affectionate wife, you will please to dress yourself," (laying proper ap-

parel before her,) "and come down with the easy and free air of the mistress of the mansion, happy in her husband's affection and unlimited trust. It will become you to beware how you give the least hint of any discord between you and me; for secret eyes will be upon you, and you know what reason you have to dread disobeying my commands." In this manner the poor lady met her friend, with her tongue padlocked concerning all that she would willingly have disclosed, Lovat contriving all the while to maintain so constant a watch on his wife and her visitor, that they could not obtain the least opportunity of speaking apart. The visitor, however, in the very silence and constraint of her friend, had seen enough to satisfy her that all was not well; and when she left Castle Downie, became importunate with Lady Lovat's family to be active in her behalf. She in consequence obtained a separation from her cruel husband, whom she long survived.

Such acts of tyranny were the dismal fruits

of the patriarchal power, when lodged in the hands of a man of fraud and violence. But Lovat's conduct was so exaggerated, as inclines us to believe there must have been a certain mixture of deranged intellect with his wickedness; a compound perfectly reconcileable to the profound craft which displayed itself in other points of his character. I must not forget to notice that Lord Lovat, having obtained the command of one of the Highland independent companies, in consequence of his services in the year 1715, took advantage of the opportunity it gave him to make all the men of his clan familiar with the use of arms; for though he could not legally have more than a certain number of men under arms at once, yet nothing was more easy than to exchange the individuals from time to time, till the whole younger Frasers had passed a few months at least in the corps. He became incautious, however, and appeared too publicly in some suspicious purchases of arms and ammunition from abroad. Government be-

came alarmed about his intentions, and withdrew his commission in the Black Watch. This happened in 1737, and it was, as we shall hereafter see, the indignation arising from being deprived of this independent company, that finally determined him on rushing into the rebellion.

Few of the Highland chiefs could claim the spotless character due to Lochiel; and none, so far as is known to us, descended to such nefarious practices as Lovat. The conduct of most of them hovered between the wild and lawless expedients of their predecessors in power, and the new ideas of honour and respect to the rights of others which recent times had introduced; and they did good or committed evil as opportunity and temptation were presented to them. In general, a spirit of honour and generosity was found to unite easily and gracefully with their patriarchal pretensions; and those who had to deal with them gained more by an appeal to their feelings than by arguments addressed to their understandings.

Having thus taken a view of the situation of Scotland both in the Highlands and Lowlands, we must next take some notice of the political condition of the two contending families, by whom the crown of Great Britain was at the time disputed.

George, the first of his family who had ascended the British throne, had transmitted the important acquisition to his son, George II. Both sovereigns were men of honour, courage, and good sense; but, being born and educated foreigners, they were strangers to the peculiar character, no less than to the very complicated form of government, of the country over which they were called by Providence to reign. They were successively under the necessity of placing the administration in the hands of a man of distinguished talent, the celebrated Sir Robert Walpole. Unfortunately, this great statesman was a man of a coarse mind, who altogether disbelieving in the very existence of patriotism, held the opinion that every man had his price, and might be bought if

his services were worth the value at which he rated them. His creed was as unfavourable to the probity of public men, as that of a leader who should disbelieve in the existence of military honour would be degrading to the character of a soldier. The venality of Sir Robert Walpole's administration became a shame and reproach to the British nation, which was also burdened with the means of supplying the wages of the national corruption.

The Kings also, George I. and II., under whom Sir Robert Walpole conducted public affairs, were themselves unpopular from a very natural reason. They loved with fond partiality their paternal dominions of Hanover, and the manners and customs of the country in which they had been born and bred. Their intimacy and confidence were chiefly imparted to those of their own nation; and so far, though the preference might be disagreeable to their British subjects, the error flowed from a laudable motive. But both the royal father and son suffered

themselves to be hurried farther than this. Regard for their German territories was the principle which regulated their political movements, and both alliances and hostilities were engaged in for interests and disputes which were of a nature exclusively German, and with which the British nation had nothing to do. Out of this undue partiality for their native dominions arose a great clamour against the two first Kings of the House of Guelph, that, called to the government of so fair and ample a kingdom as Britain, they neglected or sacrificed its interests for those of the petty and subaltern concerns of their electorate of Hanover.

Besides other causes of unpopularity, the length of Sir Robert Walpole's administration was alone sufficient to render it odious to a people so fickle as the English, who soon become weary of one class of measures, and still sooner of the administration of any one minister. For these various reasons, the government of Sir Robert Walpole, especial-

ly towards its close, was highly unpopular in England, and the Opposition attacked it with a degree of fury which made those who watched the strife from a distance imagine, that language so outrageous was that of men in the act of revolt. The foreign nations, whose ideas of our constitution were as imperfect formerly as they are at this moment, listened like men who hear what they conceive to be the bursting of a steam-engine, when the noise only announces the action of the safety-valves.

While the family of Hanover maintained an uneasy seat on an unpopular throne, the fortunes of the house of Stewart seemed much on the decline. Obliged to leave France, Spain, and Avignon, and not permitted to settle in Germany, the Chevalier de St George was obliged, shortly after his Scottish enterprise of 1715, to retire to Italy, where the sufferings of his father for the Roman Catholic religion gave him the fairest right to expect hospitality. He was now in the thirtieth year of his age, the

last male of his unfortunate family, when, by the advice of his counsellors, he fixed his choice of a wife on the Princess Clementina Sobieski, daughter to Prince James Sobieski of Poland, and grand-daughter to that King John Sobieski who defeated the Turks before Vienna. This young lady was accounted one of the greatest fortunes in Europe. The dazzling pretensions to the British crown set forth by the negotiator of the marriage on the part of James, propitiated the parents of the Princess, and it was agreed that she should be conducted privately to Bologna, with a view to her union with the Chevalier de St George. Some extra preparation on the part of the Princess and her mother, in the way of dress and equipage, brought the intrigue to the knowledge of the British court, who exerted all their influence with that of Austria for the interruption of the match. The Emperor, obliged to keep measures with Britain on account of his pretensions to Sicily, which were supported by the English fleet,

arrested the bride as she passed through Innspruck, in the Tyrol, and detained her along with her mother prisoners in a cloister of that town. The Emperor also deprived Prince James Sobieski, the lady's father, of his government of Augsburg, and caused him to be imprisoned.

A bold attempt for the release of the Princess was contrived and executed by Charles Wogan, who had been one of the prisoners at Preston, and was a devoted partisan of the cause in which he had nearly lost his life. He obtained a passport from the Austrian ambassador, in the name of Count Cernes and family, stated to be returning from Loretto to the Low Countries. A Major Misset and his wife personated the supposed count and countess; Wogan was to pass for the brother of the count; the Princess Clementina, when she should be liberated, was to represent the count's sister, which character was in the meantime enacted by a smart girl, a domestic of Mrs Misset. They represented to the wench that

she was only to remain one or two days in confinement, in the room of a lady whom Captain Toole, one of the party, was to carry off, and whose escape it might be necessary to conceal for some time. Captain Toole, with two other steady partisans, attended on the party of the supposed Count Cernes, in the dress and character of domestics.

They arrived at Innspruck on the evening of the 27th of April, 1719, and took a lodging near the convent. It appears that a trusty domestic of the Princess had secured permission of the porter to bring a female with him into the cloister, and conduct her out at whatever hour he pleased. This was a great step in favour of their success, as it permitted the agents of the Chevalier de St George to introduce the young female, and to carry out Clementina Sobieski in her stead. But while they were in consultation upon the means of executing their plan, Jenny, the servant girl, heard them name the word *Princess*, and afraid of being involved in a matter where persons of such rank were

concerned, declared she would have nothing more to do with the plot. Many fair words, a few pieces of gold, and the promise of a fine suit of damask belonging to her mistress, overcame her scruples; and taking advantage of a storm of snow and hail, Jenny was safely introduced into the cloister, and the Princess, changing clothes with her, came out at the hour by which the stranger was to return. Through bad roads and worse weather they pushed on till they quitted the Austrian territories, and entered those of Venice. On the 2d of May, after a journey of great fatigue and some danger, they arrived at Bologna, where the Princess thought it unnecessary to remain longer incognita.

In the meantime, while his destined bride made her escape from the Tyrol, the Chevalier had been suddenly called on to undertake a private expedition to Spain. The lady was espoused in his absence by a trusty adherent, who had the Chevalier's proxy to that effect, and the bridegroom's visit to

Spain having terminated in nothing satisfactory, he soon after returned to complete the marriage.

The Jacobites drew many happy omens from the success with which the romantic union of the Chevalier de St George was achieved, although after all, it may be doubted whether the Austrian emperor, though obliged in appearance to comply with the remonstrances of the British court, was either seriously anxious to prevent the Princess's escape, or extremely desirous that she should be retaken.

By this union the Chevalier de St George transmitted his hereditary claims, and with them his evil luck, to two sons. The first, Charles Edward, born the 31st of December, 1720, was remarkable for the figure he made during the civil war of 1745-6; the second, Henry Benedict, born the 6th of March, 1725, for being the last male heir, in the direct line, of the unfortunate House of Stewart. He bore the title of Duke of York, and entering the Church of Rome, was promoted to the rank of Cardinal.

The various schemes and projects which were agitated, one after another, in the councils of the Chevalier de St George, and which for a time served successively to nourish and keep afloat the hopes of his partisans in England and Scotland, were so numerous, so indifferently concocted, and so ineffectual in their consequences, that, to borrow an expression from the poet, the voyage of his life might be said to be spent in shallows.

With whatever court Britain happened to have a quarrel, thither came the unfortunate heir of the House of Stewart, to show his miseries and to boast his pretensions. But though treated with decency, and sometimes fed with hopes which proved altogether fallacious, the Chevalier found his eloquence too feeble to persuade any government to embarrass themselves by making common cause with him after the miscarriage of the Spanish invasion of 1719, which only gave rise to the petty skirmish of Glenshiel. In the intervals of these ineffectual negotiations, the Chevalier's domestic establishment was

divided by petty intrigues among his advisers, in which his wife occasionally took such keen interest, as to proclaim, in a public and scandalous degree, their domestic disunion. From all these circumstances, from his advance in years, and the disappointments which he brooded over, the warmest adherents of the House of Stewart ceased to expect any thing from the personal exertions of him whom they called their King, and reposed the hopes of their party in the spirit and talents of his eldest son, Charles Edward; whose external appearance, and personal accomplishments, seemed at first sight to justify his high pretensions, and to fit him well for the leader of any bold and gallant enterprise by which they might be enforced.

In attempting to describe to you this remarkable young man, I am desirous of qualifying the exaggerated praise heaped upon him by his enthusiastic adherents, and no less so to avoid repeating the disparaging language of public and political opponents, and of discontented and disobliged followers,

who have written rather under the influence of their resentments than in defence of truth.

Prince Charles Edward, styling himself Prince of Wales, was a youth of tall stature and fair complexion. His features were of a noble and elevated cast, but tinged with an expression of melancholy. His manners were courteous, his temper apparently good, his courage of a nature fit for the most desperate undertakings, his strength of constitution admirable, and his knowledge of manly exercises and accomplishments perfect. These were all qualities highly in favour of one who prepared to act the restorer of an ancient dynasty. On the other hand, his education had been strangely neglected in certain points of the last consequence to his success. Instead of being made acquainted with the rights and constitution of the English nation by those who superintended his education, they had taken care to train him up exclusively in those absurd, perverse, exaggerated and antiquated doctrines of divine hereditary right, and passive obedience, out of which had arisen

he errors and misfortunes of the reign of his ancestor, James the Second of England. He had been also strictly brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, which had proved so fatal to his grandfather; and thus he was presented to the British nation without any alteration or modification of those false tenets in church and state so obnoxious to those whom he called his subjects, and which had cost his ancestor a throne. It was a natural consequence of the high ideas of regal prerogative in which he was trained, though it might also be in some respects owing to a temper naturally haughty and cold, that the young prince was apt to consider the most important services rendered him, and the greatest dangers encountered in his cause, as sufficiently to reward the actors by the internal consciousness of having discharged their duties as loyal subjects, nor did he regard them as obligations laying him under a debt which required acknowledgment or recompense. This degree of indifference to the lives or safety of his followers (the effect of a very bad education) led to an in-

dulgence in rash and sanguine hopes, which could only be indulged at an extravagant risk to all concerned. It was the duty of every subject to sacrifice every thing for his Prince, and if this duty was discharged, what results could be imagined too difficult for their efforts? Such were the principles instilled into the mind of the descendant of the ill-starred house of Stewart.

It is easy to be imagined, that these latter attributes were carefully veiled over in the accounts of the character of the young Chevalier, as spread abroad by his adherents within Scotland and England; and that he was held up to hope and admiration, as a shoot of the stem of Robert Bruce, and as one who, by every perfection of mind and body, was ordained to play anew the part of that great restorer of the Scottish monarchy.

The state of the Jacobite party, both in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, has been already noticed. In England it was far inferior to its strength in 1715; the fatal affair of Preston was remembered with dread. But many great families attached

to the High Church principles continued to look with a longing eye towards him whom they regarded as the heir of the crown, by indefeasible right; and some, at considerable risk to their persons and estates, maintained an intercourse with the agents of the old Chevalier de St George, who thus received intelligence of their hopes and plans. The principal of these were the Wynnes of Wynnstay, in Wales, with the great family of Windham. Other houses, either Catholics or High Churchmen, in the west, were united in the same interest. A great part of the Church of England clergy retained their ancient prejudices; and the Universities, Oxford in particular, still boasted a powerful party, at the head of which was Doctor William King, Principal of St Mary's Hall, who entered into the same sentiments.

Such being the state of affairs when war was declared betwixt Britain and Spain, in 1740, seven daring Scottish Jacobites signed an association, engaging themselves to risk their lives and fortunes for the restora-

tion of the Stewart family, provided that France would send a considerable body of troops to their assistance. The titular Duke of Perth, the Earl of Traquair, Lochiel, and Lovat, were of the number who signed this association.

The agent employed to advocate the cause of the Jacobites at Paris, was Drummond, alias MacGregor, of Bohaldie, with whom was joined a person whom they called Lord Semple; these agents were supposed to have ready access to the French ministers. Bohaldie was closely related to several chieftains of the Scottish clans, and in particular to Cameron of Lochiel, on whose judgment and prudence the others were in a great degree disposed to rely. But after a protracted negotiation, nothing could be resolved upon with any certainty; for the French ministers, on the one hand, were afraid that the Jacobites in their political zeal might dupe both themselves and France, by inducing them to hazard the forces of the latter kingdom upon a distant and dangerous expedition; while, on the other hand,

the Jacobites, who were to risk their all in the enterprise, were alike apprehensive that France, if she could by their means excite a civil war in England, and oblige its government to recall her troops from Germany, would not, after that point was gained, greatly concern herself about their success or failure.

At length, however, when France beheld the interest which Britain began to take in the German war, assisting the Empress Queen both with troops and money, her administration seems suddenly to have taken into serious consideration the proposed descent upon Scotland. With a view to the arrangement of an enterprise, Cardinal de Tencin, who had succeeded Cardinal Fleury in the administration of France, invited Charles Edward, the eldest son of the old Chevalier de St George, to repair from Italy to Paris. The young Prince, on receiving a message so flattering to his hopes, left Rome as if on a hunting expedition, but instantly took the road to Genoa, and, embarking on board a small vessel, ran through the English

fleet at great risk of being captured, and arriving safe at Antilles, proceeded to Paris. He there took part in counsels of a nature highly dangerous to Great Britain. It had been settled by the French court, that a French army of twelve thousand men should be landed in England under the celebrated Field-Marshal Saxe, who was to act under the commission of the Chevalier de St George as commander-in-chief. Having intimated this determination to the Earl Marischal and Lord Elcho, eldest son of the Earl of Wemyss, who were then in the French capital, Charles left Paris to superintend the destined embarkation, and took up his residence at Gravelines, in the beginning of February, 1744. Here he resided in the most strict privacy, under the name of the Chevalier Douglas. Bohaldie waited upon him as his secretary.

The French fleet was got in readiness, and the troops designed for the invasion embarked; but the alertness of the British navy disconcerted this as it had done former expeditions. The French army no sooner

appeared off Torbay, than they were confronted by a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line, under Admiral Sir John Norris. The elements also took part in the strife, and, as usually happened on former occasions, decided against the House of Stewart. A heavy tempest arose, obliging both the English and French to scud before the wind. The latter fleet were dispersed, and suffered damage. The plan of invasion was once more given up, and the French troops were withdrawn from the coast.

It is in vain to enquire upon what principles the French ministry preferred this attempt upon England, at great expense, and with a large army, to an invasion of Scotland, where they were sure to be joined by a large body of Jacobites, and where one-third part of the troops would have made a serious, perhaps a fatal impression. History is full of attempts to assist malecontents in an enemy's country, which have miscarried from being ill-concerted in point of place or time. That the present did not

arise out of any very accurate combinations is certain, for so little had the French ministers thought on the means of propitiating the English Jacobites, that they did not at first design that the Duke of Ormond should embark with the expedition, though the most popular of the Chevalier's adherents in South Britain. The Duke was at length hastily summoned from Avignon to join the armament when it was on the eve of sailing, but receiving information while he was on the road that the design was given up, he returned to his residence. It is probable that the French were determined to make England the object of attack, merely because they could more easily either reinforce or bring off their expedition, than if it was sent against Scotland.

Lord Marischal had repaired to the Prince at Gravelines, but was not much consulted on the objects of the expedition. When he asked concerning the embarkation for Scotland, he was informed that it would take place after that to England was dispatched. But

after the miscarriage of the enterprise, and disembarkation of the troops, Charles Edward invited the earl to visit him at Gravelines, when he seriously proposed to hire a boat, and go with him to Scotland, where, he said, he was sure he had many friends who would join him. This idea, from which he was diverted with difficulty, seems to have been the slight sketch which was afterwards the ground-work of the rash expedition of 1745-6. In the end of summer Prince Charles left Gravelines and went to Paris, where he resided for the winter, little noticed by French families of fashion, but much resorted to by the Irish and Scots who were in that capital.

In the month of August, 1744, John Murray of Broughton, who had been for three or four years an agent of the old Chevalier, and much trusted by him and his adherents, returned to Paris from Scotland, carrying with him the joint opinion of the Jacobites in that country upon the subject of an invasion. Mr Murray was a gentleman of honourable

birth and competent fortune, being the son of Sir David Murray, by his second wife, a daughter of Sir John Scott of Ancrum. His early travels to Rome gave him an opportunity of offering his services to the old Chevalier, and he had ever since retained his confidence. The opinion which he now delivered to Charles, as the united sentiments of his friends in Scotland, was, that if he could persuade the French government to allow him six thousand auxiliary troops, ten thousand stand of arms, and thirty thousand louis-d'or, he might assuredly reckon on the support of all his Scottish friends. But Murray had been charged at the same time to say, that if the Prince could not obtain succours to the amount specified, they could do nothing in his behalf. The answer which the Prince returned by Murray to his Scottish adherents, was, that he was weary and disgusted with waiting upon the timid, uncertain, and faithless politics of the court of France; and that, whether with or without their assistance or concurrence, he was deter-

mined to appear in Scotland in person, and try his fortune. Mr Murray has left a positive declaration, that he endeavoured as much as possible to divert the Prince from an attempt, which rather announced desperation than courage; but as there were other reasons for imputing blame to the agent, many of those who suffered by the expedition represent him as having secretly encouraged the Prince in his romantic undertaking, instead of dissuading him from so rash a course. Whether encouraged by Murray, or otherwise, Charles Edward continued fixed in his determination to try what effect could be produced by his arrival in Scotland, with such slender supplies of money and arms as his private fortune might afford.

With a view to this experiment, the Prince sent Murray back to Scotland, with commissions to those whom he regarded as the most faithful friends of his family, given in his own name, as Prince of Wales and Regent for James VIII., for which last title he possessed an ample warrant from his fa-

ther. The arrival of these documents in Scotland excited the utmost surprise and anxiety; and at a full meeting of the principal Jacobites held at Edinburgh, it was agreed to dispatch Mr Murray to the Highlands, to meet, if possible, the young Adventurer on his first coming upon the coast, and, communicating their general disapprobation of an attempt so desperate, to entreat him to reserve himself and the Scottish friends of his family for some period in which fortune might better favour their exertions. The titular Duke of Perth alone dissented from the opinion of the meeting, and declared, in a spirit of high-strained loyalty, that he would join the Prince if he arrived without a single man. The others were unanimous in a different judgment, and Murray, empowered by them, remained on the watch on the Highland coast during the whole month of June, when, the Chevalier not appearing, he returned to his own seat in the south of Scotland, supposing naturally that the young man had renounced an

attempt which had in it so much of the headlong rashness of youth, and which he might be fairly believed to have laid aside on mature consideration.

But the Chevalier had resolved on his expedition. He was distrustful of the motives, doubtful of the real purposes of France, and was determined to try his fate upon his own resources, however inadequate to the purpose he meant to effect. It is said that Cardinal Tencin was the only member of the French government to whom his resolution was made known, to which the minister yielded his acquiescence rather than his countenance; and at length, as England and France were now engaged in open war, he generously consented that Charles should pursue his desperate enterprise upon his own risk and his own means, without farther assistance than a very indirect degree of encouragement from France. The fatal defeat at Fontenoy happened about the same period, and as the British forces in Flanders were much weakened, the Adventurer was en-

couraged to hope that no troops could be spared from thence to oppose his enterprise.

In consequence of the understanding betwixt Charles and Tencin, a man-of-war of sixty guns, named the Elizabeth, was placed at the disposal of the adventurous Prince, to which Charles Edward added a frigate or sloop of war, called the Doutelle, which had been fitted out by two merchants of Dunkirk, named Routledge and Walsh, to cruize against the British trade. In this latter vessel he embarked, with a very few attendants, and with the whole or greater part of the money and arms which he had provided.

The expedition was detained by contrary winds till the 8th of July, when the vessels set sail upon this romantic adventure. But the chances of the sea seem to have been invariably unpropitious to the line of Stewart. The next day after they left port, the Lion, an English ship of war, fell in with them, and engaged the Elizabeth. The battle was desperately maintained on both sides, and the vessels separated after much

mutual injury. The Elizabeth, in particular, lost her first and second captains, and was compelled to bear away for Brest to refit.

The Doutelle, on board of which was Charles Edward and his suite, had kept at a distance during the action, and seeing its termination, stood away for the north-west of Scotland, so as to reach the Hebrides. Avoiding another large vessel, understood to have been an English man-of-war, which they met in their course, the sloop that carried the young Prince and his fortunes at length moored near the island of South Uist, one of the isles belonging to MacDonald of Clanranald and his kinsfolk. Clanranald was himself on the mainland; but his uncle, MacDonald of Boisdale, by whose superior talents and sagacity the young Chief was much guided, was at that time on South Uist, where his own property lay. On being summoned by the Prince, he came on board the Doutelle.

Charles Edward immediately proposed to Boisdale to take arms, and to engage his

powerful neighbours, Sir Alexander MacDonald, and the Chief of the MacLeods, in his cause. These two chiefs could each bring to the field from 1200 to 1500 men. Boisdale replied, with a bluntness to which the Adventurer had not been accustomed, that the enterprise was rash to the verge of insanity; that he could assure him that Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod were positively determined not to join him unless on his bringing the forces stipulated by the unanimous determination of the friends of his family; and that, by his advice, his nephew Clanranald would also adopt the resolution of remaining quiet. The young Chevalier argued the point for some time, still steering towards the mainland; until, finding Boisdale inexorable, he at length dismissed him, and suffered him to take his boat and return to South Uist. It is said, that this interview with Boisdale had such an influence on the mind of Charles, that he called a council of the principal followers who accompanied him in the Doutelle, when all voices, save one,

were unanimous for returning, and Charles himself seemed for a moment disposed to relinquish the expedition. Sir Thomas Sheridan alone, an Irish gentleman, who had been his tutor, was inclined to prosecute the adventure farther, and encouraged his pupil to stand his ground, and consult some more of his Scottish partisans before renouncing a plan, on which he had ventured so far, that to relinquish it without farther trial would be an act of cowardice, implying a renunciation of the birthright he came to seek. His opinion determined his pupil, who was on all occasions much guided by it, to make another appeal to the spirit of the Highland leaders.

Advancing still towards the mainland, Charles with his sloop of war entered the bay of Lochnannagh, between Moidart and Arisaig, and sent a messenger ashore to apprise Clanranald of his arrival. That chieftain immediately came on board, with his relation, MacDonald of Kinloch-Moidart, and one or two others. Charles applied to them the same arguments which he had in

vain exhausted upon Boisdale, their relation, and received the same reply, that an attempt at the present time, and with such slender means, could end in nothing but ruin. A young Highlander, a brother of Kinloch-Moidart, began now to understand before whom he stood, and, grasping his sword, showed visible signs of impatience at the reluctance manifested by his chief and his brother to join their Prince. Charles marked his agitation, and availed himself of it.

He turned suddenly towards the young Highlander, and said, "You at least will not forsake me?"—"I will follow you to death," said Ranald, "were there no other to draw a sword in your cause." The chief and relative of the warm-hearted young man caught his enthusiasm, and declared, that since the Prince was determined, they would no longer dispute his pleasure. He landed accordingly, and was conducted to the house of Boradale, as a temporary place of residence. Seven persons came ashore as his suite. These were the Marquis of

Tullibardin, outlawed for his share in the insurrection of 1715, elder brother of James, the actual Duke of Athole; Sir Thomas Sheridan, the Prince's tutor; Sir John MacDonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Francis Strictland, an English gentleman; Kelly, who had been implicated in what was called the Bishop of Rochester's Plot; Æneas MacDonald, a banker in Paris, a brother of Kinloch-Moidart; and Buchanan, who had been intrusted with the service of summoning the Chevalier from Rome to Paris. One of his attendants, or who immediately afterwards joined him, has been since made generally known by the military renown of his son, Marshal MacDonald, distinguished by his integrity, courage, and capacity, during so many arduous scenes of the great revolutionary war.*

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* His father was one of a tribe of MacDonalds residing in South Uist, named MacEachen, or sons of Hector, descended from the house of Clanranald by birth, and united with them by intermarriage. Young MacDonald, or Mac-

This memorable landing in Moidart took place on the 25th July 1745. The place where Charles was lodged was remarkably well situated for concealment, and for communication with friendly clans, both in the islands and on the mainland, without whose countenance and concurrence it was impossible that his enterprise could succeed.

Cameron of Lochiel had an early summons from the Prince, and waited on him as soon as he received it. He came fully convinced of the utter madness of the undertaking, and determined, as he thought, to counsel the Adventurer to return to France, and wait a more favourable opportunity.

"If such is your purpose, Donald," said Cameron of Fassefern to his brother of Lochiel, "write to the Prince your opi-

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Eachen, had been bred at Saint Omers, with a view to taking priest's orders; he, therefore, understood the Latin, as well as the English, French, and Gaelic languages, and his services were important to Charles as an interpreter, or private secretary.

nion; but do not trust yourself within the fascination of his presence. I know you better than you know yourself, and you will be unable to refuse compliance."

Fassefern prophesied truly. While the Prince confined himself to argument, Lochiel remained firm, and answered all his reasoning. At length Charles, finding it impossible to subdue the chief's judgment, made a powerful appeal to his feelings.

"I have come hither," he said, "with my mind unalterably made up, to reclaim my rights or to perish. Be the issue what will, I am determined to display my standard, and take the field with such as may join it. Lochiel, whom my father esteemed the best friend of our family, may remain at home, and learn his Prince's fate from the newspapers."

"Not so," replied the chief, much affected, "if you are resolved on this rash undertaking, I will go with you, and so shall every one over whom I have influence."

Thus was Lochiel's sagacity overpowered

by his sense of what he esteemed honour and loyalty, which induced him to front the prospect of ruin with a disinterested devotion, not unworthy the best days of chivalry. His decision was the signal for the commencement of the rebellion; for it was generally understood at the time, that there was not a chief in the Highlands who would have risen, if Lochiel had maintained his pacific purpose.

He had no sooner embraced the Chevalier's proposal, than messengers were dispatched in every direction to summon such clans as were judged friendly, announcing that the royal standard was to be erected at Glenfinnan on the 19th of August, and requiring them to attend on it with their followers in arms.

Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and MacLeod of MacLeod, were, as already mentioned, men of the greatest note in the Hebrides, and their joint forces were computed at more than three thousand men. They had declared themselves friendly to

the Prince's cause, and Clanranald was dispatched to them to hasten their junction. The envoy found them both at Sir Alexander MacDonald's, and said all he could to decide them to raise their following; but that chieftain alleged that he had never come under any explicit engagement to join Charles, nor could he be persuaded to do so in such a desperate undertaking. MacLeod's engagements are said to have been more peremptory; but he appears to have been as reluctant as Sir Alexander MacDonald to comply with Charles Edward's summons, alleging that his agreement depended on the Prince bringing certain auxiliaries and supplies, which were not forthcoming. He, moreover, pleaded to Clanranald, that a number of his men resided in the distant islands, as an additional excuse for not joining the standard immediately. Clanranald's mission was therefore unsuccessful, and the defection of these two powerful chiefs was indifferently supplied by the zeal displayed by others of less power.

Charles, however, displayed great skill in managing the tempers, and gaining the affections, of such Highlanders as were introduced to him during his abode at Boradale. The memoirs of an officer, named MacDonald, engaged in his army, gives so interesting an account of his person and behaviour, that I shall throw it to the end of this chapter in the form of a note. The Prince's Lowland friends were also acquainted with his arrival, and prepared for his designs.

Government was, at the same time, rendered vigilant, by the visible stir which seemed to take place among the Jacobites, and proceeded to the arrest of suspicious persons. Among these, one of the principal was the titular Duke of Perth, upon whose ancestor the Court of Saint Germains had conferred that rank. He was son of Lord John Drummond, who flourished in the 1715, and grandson of the unfortunate Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor to James VIII. before the Revolution. The present de-

scendant of that honourable house was a man respected for his high rank, popular manners, dauntless bravery, and sweetness of disposition, but not possessed of any extraordinary degree of talent. This nobleman was residing at Castle-Drummond, when Captain Campbell of Inveraw, who commanded an independent Highland company lying at Muthil, in the neighbourhood, received orders to lay him under arrest. Campbell, by the mediation of a friend, procured himself an invitation to dine at Drummond-Castle, and caused his men to approach the place as near as they could without causing suspicion. When dinner was over, and the ladies had retired, Inveraw put the arrest into execution, and told the Duke he was his prisoner, stating, at the same time, his orders in apology. The Duke seemed to treat the thing with indifference, and said, since it was so there was no help for it. But, in leaving the apartment, he made the captain pass before him as if by a natural motion of politeness, and turning

short on his heel, instead of following him, left the room, and by a private door fled from the house into the wood. There was an instant pursuit, and the Duke would probably have been retaken, had he not found a pony, and leapt upon its back, with only a halter on its head, and without a saddle. By the advantage thus afforded him, he was enabled to escape to the neighbouring Highlands, where he lay safe from pursuit, and soon after obtained knowledge of the young Chevalier's having landed, and made preparation to join him.

John Murray of Broughton, in the meanwhile, had discharged the perilous task of having the manifestos printed, which were to be dispersed when the invasion should become public, as well as that of warning several persons, who had agreed to give supplies of money and arms. He now left his house, where he had lived for the last three weeks in constant danger, and fear of arrest, and set out to join the Prince. His active genius meditated some other ex-

ploits. By the assistance of a Jacobite friend, of a fearless and enterprising disposition, he laid a scheme for surprising the Duke of Argyle, (brother and successor to the famous Duke John,) and making him prisoner at his own castle of Inverary. Another project was to cause government to receive information, which, though false in the main, was yet coloured with so many circumstances of truth as to make it seem plausible, and which came to them through a channel which they did not mistrust. The reports thus conveyed to them bore, that the Jacobite chiefs were to hold a great consultation in the wilds of Rannoch, and that Murray had left his house in the south to be present at the meeting. It was proposed to those managing on the part of government to seize the opportunity of dispatching parties from Fort William and Fort Augustus to secure the conspirators at their rendezvous. The object of the scheme was, that the Highlanders might have an opportunity of surprising the forts,

when the garrison should be diminished by the proposed detachments. Mr Murray, having thus planned two exploits, which, had they succeeded, must have been most advantageous to the Prince's cause, proceeded to join Charles Edward, whom he found at the house of MacDonald of Kinloch-Moidart, who had advanced to that place from Borodale. Many Highland gentlemen had joined him, and his enterprise seemed to be generally favoured by the chiefs on the mainland. Clanranald had also joined with three hundred and upwards of his clan. Regular guards were mounted on the person of the Prince; his arms and treasure were disembarked from the Doutelle, and distributed amongst those who seemed most able to serve him. Yet he remained straitened for want of provisions, which might have disconcerted his expedition, had not the Doutelle fallen in with and captured two vessels laden with oatmeal, a supply which enabled him to keep his followers together, and to look with confidence to the moment

which had been fixed for displaying his standard.

Mr Murray, to whose management so much of the private politics of Prince Charles had been confided, was recognised as his Secretary of State, and trusted with all the internal management of the momentous undertaking.

NOTE.

The author of the Memoirs from which the following extract is made, appears to have been a MacDonald, and one of the seven gentlemen of that clan, who, being the earliest to join Charles Edward, were long distinguished by the name of the Seven Men of Moidart. Their curiosity had been excited by the appearance of the Doutelle when it arrived on the coast, and they hastened to the shore to learn the news.

" We called for the ship's boat, and were immediatly carryed on board, and our hearts were overjoyed to find ourselves so near our long wished for Prince. We found a large tent erected with poles on the ship's deck, covered and well furnished with variety of wines and spirits. As we enter'd this pavilion, we were most chearfully welcom'd by the Duke of Athole, to whom some of us had been known in the year 1715. While the Duke was talking with us, Clanranald was amissing, and had, as we understood, been called into the Prince's cabin ; nor did we look for the honour of seeing H. R. H. at least for that night. After being 3 hours with the P., Clanranald returned to us ; and, in about half ane hour after, there entered the tent a tall youth, of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt, not very clean, and a cambrick stock, fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hatt, with a canvas string, haveing one end fixed to one of his coat buttons ; he had black stockins, and brass buckles in his shoes. At his first appearance, I found my heart swell to my very throat. We

were immediately told by one Obrian, a churchman, that this youth was also ane English clergyman, who had long been possess'd with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders.

"When this youth entered, Obrian forbid any of those who were sitting to rise; he saluted none of us, and we only made a low bow at a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me, but immediately started up again, and caused me sitt down by him upon a chest. I at this time taking him to be only a passenger, or some clergyman, presumed to speak to him with too much familiarity, yet still retained some suspicion he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habite? (viz. the Highland garb). I answered, I was so habituated to it that I should rather be so if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laughed heartily, and next enquired how I lay with it at night, which I explained to him. He said, that by wrapping myself so closs in my plaid, I would be unprepared for any sudden defence in the case of a surprise. I answered, that in such times of danger or during a war, we had a different method of using the plaid, so that with one spring, I could start to my feet with drawn sword and cocked pistol in my hand, without being in the least incumbered with my bed-cloaths. Several such questions he put to me; then, rising quickly from his seat, he calls for a dram, when the same person whispered me a second time, to pledge the stranger, but not to drink to him, by which seasonable hint I was confirmed in my suspicion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand, he drank to us all round, and soon after left us."

The writer then mentions the difficulties under which the Adventurer struggled, and adds—

"So all may judge, how hazardous ane enterprise we (*i. e.* Clanranald's people) were now engaged in, being for some time quite alone, who, notwithstanding, resolved to follow our P. most cheerfully, and risque our fate with him. We there did our best to give him a most hearty welcome to our country, the P. and all his company with a guard of about 100 men, being all entertained in the house, &c. of Angus M'Donald of Borradel, in Arisaig, in as hospitable a manner as the place could afford. H. R. H. being seated in a proper place, had a full view of all our company, the whole neighbourhood, without distinction of age or sex, crouding in upon us to see the P. After we had all eaten plentifully and drank cheerfully, H. R. H. drunk the grace drink in English, which most of us understood; when it came to my turn, I presumed to distinguish myself by saying audibly in Erse (or Highland language), *Deoch slaint an-Reogh*; H. R. H. understanding that I had drunk the King's health, made me speak the words again in Erse, and said, he could drink the King's health likewise in that language, repeating my words; and the company mentioning my skill in the Highland language, H. R. H. said I should be his master for that language, and so I was made to ask the healths of the Prince and Duke."

The original journal of this simple-minded and high-spirited young Highlander, who seems to have wooed danger as a bride, will be found in the Lockhart Papers, Vol. II., page 479.

CHAP. VII.

Commencement of Hostilities—Raising of Prince Charles's Standard—March of Sir John Cope into the Highlands—Intrigues of Lord Lovat—Preparations of the Prince for fighting Cope, who turns off on the Route to Inverness, leaving the road to the Lowlands open—March of Prince Charles towards the Low Country—Character of Lord George Murray—Arrival of the Highland Army at Perth.—Note, Letter from Lord Lovat to Cameron of Lochiel.

In the meanwhile, and even before the day appointed by Charles Edward for erecting his standard, the civil war commenced. This was not by the capture of the Duke of Argyle, or the projected attack upon the forts, neither of which took place. But the hostile movements of the Highlanders had not escaped the attention of the governor of Fort Augustus, who, apprehensive for the safety of Fort William, which lay nearest to the

disaffected clans, sent a detachment of two companies under Captain John Scott, afterwards General Scott. He marched early in the morning of the 16th of August, with the purpose of reaching Fort-William before nightfall. His march ran along the military road which passes by the side of the chain of lakes now connected by the Caledonian Canal. Captain Scott and his detachment had passed the lakes, and were within eight miles of Fort-William, when they approached a pass called High Bridge, where the river Spean is crossed by a steep and narrow bridge, surrounded by rocks and woods. Here he was alarmed by the sound of a bagpipe, and the appearance of Highlanders in arms. This was a party of men belonging to MacDonald of Keppoch, and commanded by his kinsman, MacDonald of Tiendreich. They did not amount to more than twelve or fifteen men, but showing themselves in different points, it was impossible for Captain Scott to ascertain their

number. He detached a steady sergeant in advance, accompanied by a private soldier, to learn the meaning of this opposition; but they were instantly made prisoners by the mountaineers.

Scott, who was a man of unquestionable courage, was desirous of pursuing his route and fighting his way. But his officers were of a different opinion, considering that they were to storm a strong pass in the face of an enemy of unknown strength, and the privates, who were newly raised men, showed symptoms of fear. In this predicament Captain Scott was induced to attempt a retreat by the same road along which he had advanced. But the firing had alarmed the country; and the Highlanders assembling with characteristic promptitude, their numbers increased at every moment. Their activity enabled them to line the mountains, rocks, and thickets overhanging the road, and by which it was commanded, and the regulars were overwhelmed with a destructive fire, to which they could only make a

random return upon an invisible enemy. Meanwhile the hills, the rocks, and dingles, resounded with the irregular firing, the fierce shrieks of the Highlanders, and the yellings of the pibroch. The soldiers continued to retreat, or rather to run, till about five or six miles eastward from High Bridge, when Keppoch came up with about twenty more men, hastily assembled since the skirmish began. Others, the followers of Glengarry, had also joined, making the number about fifty. The Highlanders pressed their advantage, and showed themselves more boldly in front, flank, and rear, while the ammunition of the soldiers was exhausted without having even wounded one of their assailants. They were now closely surrounded, or supposed themselves to be so; their spirits were entirely sunk, and on Keppoch coming in front, and summoning them to surrender, on pain of being cut to pieces, they immediately laid down their arms. Captain Scott was wounded, as were five or six of his men. About

the same number were slain. This disaster, which seems to have arisen from the commanding officer's neglecting to keep an advanced guard, gave great spirits to the Highlanders, and placed in a flattering light their peculiar excellence as light troops. The prisoners were treated with humanity, and carried to Lochiel's house of Auchnacarrie, where the wounded were carefully attended to. As the governor of Fort-Augustus would not permit a surgeon from that garrison to attend Captain Scott, Lochiel, with his wonted generosity, sent him on parole to the Fort, that he might have medical assistance.

The war being thus openly commenced, Charles moved from the House of Glenaladale, which had been his last residence, to be present at the raising of his standard at the place of rendezvous in Glenfinnan. He arrived early on the 19th of August in the savage and sequestered vale, attended only by a company or two of the MacDonalds, whose chief, Clanranald, was absent, rai-

sing his men in every quarter where he had influence. Two hours elapsed, and the mountain ridges still looked as lonely as ever, while Charles waited as one uncertain of his fate, until at length Lochiel and the Camerons appeared. This body amounted to seven or eight hundred. They advanced in two lines, having betwixt them the two companies who had been taken on the 16th, disarmed and marching as prisoners. Keppoch arrived shortly afterwards with three hundred men, and some chieftains of less importance brought in each a few followers.

The standard was then unfurled; it was displayed by the Marquis of Tullibardin, exiled, as we have already said, on account of his accession to the rebellion in 1715, and now returned to Scotland with Charles in the Doutelle. He was supported by a man on each side as he performed the ceremony. The manifesto of the old Chevalier, and the commission of regency granted to his son Charles Edward, were then read, and the

Adventurer made a short speech, asserting his title to the throne, and alleging that he came for the happiness of his people, and had chosen this part of the kingdom for the commencement of his enterprise, because he knew he should find a population of brave gentlemen, zealous as their noble predecessors for their own honour and the rights of their sovereign, and as willing to live and die with him, as he was willing at their head to shed the last drop of his blood.

A leader of the clan of MacLeod appeared at this rendezvous, and renounced on the occasion his dependence upon his chief, whom indeed he did not acknowledge as such, and promised to join with his own following. Lochiel and some others of the chiefs present took this opportunity of writing to MacLeod and Sir Alexander MacDonald, to engage them to join, as the writers alleged their honour obliged them. This letter gave great offence to both the chiefs, and to Sir Alexander in particular, who alleged the insinua-

tion it contained as a reason for the part he afterwards took in this affair.

Tidings were soon heard that the government troops were in motion to put down the insurrection.

The Prince had resolved to avoid the great mistake of Mar in the year 1715, and to avail himself to the uttermost of the fierce and ardent activity of the troops whom he commanded, and it was with pleasure that he heard of the enemy's approach. He remained for a few days at Auchnacarrie, the house of Lochiel, and, finding the unwillingness which the Highlanders evinced to carry baggage, the impossibility of finding horses, and the execrable character of the roads, he left a quantity of swivel-guns and pioneers' tools behind, as tending only to encumber his march. In the meantime, he was joined by the following clans:—MacDonald of Glencoe brought with him 150 men; the Stuarts of Appin, under Ardshiel, amounted to 250; Keppoch

brought 300 MacDonalds;* Glengarry, the younger, joined the army, as it marched eastward, with about 300—making a total of nearly 2000 men.

There was an association drawn up and signed at Auchnacarrie, by the chiefs who had taken the field, in which the subscribers bound themselves never to abandon the Prince while he remained in the realm, or to lay down their arms, or make peace with government, without his express consent.

While the insurrection was thus gathering strength and consistency, the heads of the official bodies at Edinburgh became ap-

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* Keppoch, it is said, would have brought more men to the field, but there existed a dispute betwixt him and his clan,—a rare circumstance in itself, and still more uncommon, as it arose from a point of religion. Keppoch was a Protestant, his clan were Catholics,—a difference which would have bred no discord between them, if Keppoch would have permitted the priest to accompany his hearers on the march. But the chief would not; the clansmen took offence, and came in smaller numbers than otherwise would have followed him, for he was much and deservedly beloved by them.

prised of its existence, which, however rash on the part of the Adventurer, was yet very hazardous to the state, on account of the particular time when it broke out. George II. was absent in Hanover, and the government was in the hands of a Council of Regency, called Lords Justices, whose counsels seem neither to have evinced sagacity nor vigour.

Early in summer, they had received intelligence that the young Chevalier had a design to sail from Nantes with a single vessel; and, latterly, they had heard a rumour that he had actually landed in the Highlands. This intelligence was sent by the Marquis of Tweeddale to the commander-in-chief; to Lord Milton, a Scottish judge, who was much consulted in state affairs; to the Lord Advocate, the President of the Court of Session, and the Lord Justice Clerk. These principal officers or advisers of government formed a sort of council for the direction of state affairs.

The report of Charles's landing at length

reached Edinburgh with such marks of authenticity, as no longer to admit of doubt. The alarm was very considerable, for the regular forces of Britain were chiefly engaged on the continent. There were not in all Scotland quite three thousand troops, exclusive of garrisons. Of three battalions and a half of infantry, only one battalion was an old corps; the rest were newly raised. Two regiments of dragoons, Hamilton's and Gardiner's, were the youngest in the service. There were independent companies levied for the purpose of completing the regiments which were in Flanders; and there were several companies of a Highland regiment, which Lord Loudon commanded, but who, being Highlanders, were not to be much trusted in the present quarrel. Out of this small force, two of the newly raised companies had been made prisoners at High Bridge. Yet, reduced as his strength was, Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief, deemed it equal to the occasion, and resolved to set out northward at the head of such troops as he could most hastily as-

semble, to seek out the Adventurer, give him battle, and put an end to the rebellion. The Lords Justices approved of this as a soldierlike resolution, and gave orders to the General to proceed to put his plan in execution.

Sir John took the field accordingly on the 19th of August, and marched to Stirling, where he left the two regiments of dragoons, as they could have been of little use in the hills, and it would have been difficult to obtain forage for them. His infantry consisted of between fourteen and fifteen hundred men; and, together with a train of artillery and a superfluity of baggage, he had with him a thousand stand of spare muskets, to arm such loyal clans as he expected to join him. None such appearing, he sent back 700 of the firelocks from Crieff to Stirling. His march was directed upon Fort Augustus, from which, as a central point, he designed to operate against the insurgents, wherever he might find them. As this route was the same with that by which the Highland army were drawing towards

the Lowlands, Sir John Cope had no sooner arrived at Dalnacardoch than he learned, from undoubted intelligence, that the Highlanders were advancing, with the purpose of meeting and fighting him at the pass of Corryarrack. How this intelligence affected the motions of the English general I will presently tell you, but must, in the first place, return to the operations of the young Chevalier and his insurrectionary army.

Amongst other persons of consequence with whom the Prince had held correspondence since his landing, was the celebrated Lord Lovat, who, highly discontented with government for depriving him of his independent company, had long professed his resolution to return to his original allegiance to the Stewart dynasty, and was one of those seven men of consequence who subscribed the invitation to the Chevalier in the year 1740. As no one, however, suspected Lovat of attachment either to king or political party farther than his own interest was concerned, and as the Chevalier had come

without the troops, money, and arms, which had been stipulated in that offer of service, there was great reason to suspect that the old wily chief might turn against the Adventurer, and refuse him his support. It chanced, however, that Lovat had attached considerable importance to the idea of becoming Duke of Fraser, and Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire; and the desire of obtaining these objects, though but of ideal value, induced him, notwithstanding his natural selfish sagacity, to endeavour to secure them, at the same moment while he was meditating how to escape from fulfilling the promises of which these titular honours and offices were to be the guerdon.

While the Chevalier lay at Invergarry, Fraser of Gortuleg, an especial confident of Lovat, waited upon the Prince in the capacity of his chief's envoy, and made an humble request for the patent of the dukedom and the lieutenancy, which King James VIII. had promised to him. At the same time, the emissary brought a specious, but evasive

protestation, of Lovat's respect for the Stewart family, and his deep regret that his age and infirmities, with other obstacles, would not permit him instantly to get his clan to take up arms.

Such a message was easily seen to evince a desire to seize the bait, without, if possible, swallowing the hook it covered. But Lovat was a man of great importance at the time. Besides his own clan, which he retained in high military order, he had also great influence over the Laird of Cluny, his son-in-law, and chief of the MacPhersons,—over the MacIntoshes, the Farquharsons, and other clans residing in the neighbourhood of Inverness, who were likely to follow his example in rising or remaining quiet. Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and the Laird of MacLeod, were also much in the habit of taking his advice, and following his example. He was not, therefore, to be disobliged; and as the original patents, subscribed by James himself, had been left behind with the heavy baggage,

the Chevalier caused new deeds of the same tenor to be written out, and delivered to Gortuleg for Lovat's satisfaction.

The crafty old man, by the same messenger, made another request, which had a relish of blood in it. I have told you that Lovat's most intimate friend had been Duncan Forbes, now Lord President of the Court of Session, to whose assistance he owed his establishment in the country and estate of his ancestors, in the year 1715. They had continued since that period on the most intimate terms, Lord Lovat applying, according to his nature, every expression of devotion and flattery which could serve to secure the President's good opinion. As Duncan Forbes, however, was a man of perfect knowledge of the world, he speedily traced Lovat's growing dislike to the established government; and being, by his office, as well as his disposition, a decided friend to the ruling dynasty, he easily fathomed Lovat's designs. and laboured to render them abortive. Their correspondence, though still full of profession and

adulation on Lovat's side, assumed a tone of mutual suspicion and alarm, which made the latter to grow weary of the President's active, vigilant, and frequent remonstrances. Gortuleg, therefore, stated Lovat's extreme sense of the power which the President had to hurt the cause of the Stewart family, and demanded a warrant from the Prince, authorising him to secure his friend, the President, dead or alive. The Prince declined granting it in the terms required, but signed a warrant for seizing the President's person, and detaining him in close custody. With these documents Fraser of Gortuleg returned to his wily and double-dealing old master.

In the meantime, Lovat's conduct exhibited strange marks of indecision. He became apprised by the Lord President, that Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod had declined to join the Chevalier,—a resolution, indeed, to which the prudential advice of Forbes had strongly contributed, —and he expressed his own determination to adhere to the established government.

While these intrigues were in progress, the Chevalier obtained accurate accounts of Sir John Cope's movements, from deserters who frequently left Lord Loudon's companies, which consisted chiefly of Highlanders, these men having a strong temptation to join the ranks of the Chevalier, in whose service their relations and chief were engaged.

The Prince was so much animated at the prospect of battle, that he summoned together his clans, now augmented by the Grants of Glenmorriston, in number one hundred men—burned and destroyed all that could impede his march, and sacrificed his own baggage, that the men might not complain of hardship. By a forced march he assembled his adherents at Invergarry, where he gave them some hours' repose, in order that they might be the better fitted for the fatigues of the impending battle.

On the morning of the 26th August, the Chevalier marched to Aberchallader, within three miles of Fort Augustus, and rested for the evening. On the dawning of the

next morning, he resumed his march, to dispute with Sir John Cope, whom all reports announced to be advancing, the passage of the rugged pass of Corryarrack. This mountain is ascended by a part of Marshal Wade's military road, which attains the summit by a long succession of zig-zags, or traverses, gaining slowly and gradually on the steep and rugged elevation on the south side, by which General Cope was supposed to be advancing. The succession of so many steep and oblique windings on the side of the hill, the other parts of which are in the highest degree impracticable, bears the appropriate name of the Devil's Staircase. The side of the mountain, save where intersected by this uncouth line of approach, is almost inaccessible, and the traverses are themselves intersected by deep mountain ravines and torrents, crossed by bridges which might be in a very short time broken down, and, being flanked with rocks and thickets, afford innumerable points of safe ambush to sharpshooters or enfilading parties. The Che-

valier hastened to ascend the northern side, and possess himself of the top of the hill, which has all the effect of a natural fortress, every traverse serving for a trench. He displayed exulting hope and spirits, and while putting on a new pair of Highland brogues, said with high glee, "Before I throw these off, I shall fight with General Cope." He expected to meet the English general about one o'clock.

MacDonald of Lochgarry, with the Secretary Murray, were ordered to ascend the hill on the north side, and reconnoitre the position of the supposed enemy. But to their astonishment, when they reached the summit, instead of seeing the precipitous path filled with the numerous files of Cope's army in the act of ascent, they looked on silence and solitude. Not a man appeared on the numerous windings of the road, until at length they observed some people in the Highland garb, whom they at first took for Lord Loudon's Highlanders, who, as familiar with the roads and the country,

it was natural to think might form the advanced guard of the English army. On a nearer approach, these men were discovered to be deserters from Cope's army, who brought the intelligence that that General had entirely altered his line of march, and, avoiding the expected contest, was in full march to Inverness.

The truth proved to be, that General Cope, when he approached within a day's march of the Chevalier and his little army, saw objections to his plan of seeking out the Adventurer and fighting him, which had not occurred to him while there was a greater distance between them. It could have required no great powers of anticipation to suppose, that the Highlanders would rally round their Prince in considerable numbers, impressed by the romantic character of his expedition; or to conjecture that, in so very rugged a country, an irregular army would take post in a defile. But General Cope had not imagined such a rapid assembling of the mountaineers as had taken

place, or a pass so formidable as the Devil's Staircase, on Corryarrack. This unlucky general, whose name became a sort of laughing-stock in Scotland, was not by any means a poltroon, as has been supposed; but he was one of those second-rate men, who are afraid of responsibility, and form their plan of a campaign, more with reference to the vindication of their own character, than the success of their enterprise. He laid his embarrassments before a council of war, the usual refuge of generals who find themselves unable to decide, of their own judgment, upon arduous points of difficulty. He had received exact information concerning the numbers and disposition of the enemy from Captain Sweetenham, an English officer, who was taken prisoner by the insurgents, while on his route to take the command of three companies lying at Fort William, and, having been present at the setting up of the standard, described the general huzzas and clouds of bonnets which were flung up on the occasion. The pri-

soner had been treated with much courtesy, and dismissed to carry the report that the rebels intended to give General Cope battle. Sir John Cope laid the intelligence before the council. He stated the unexpected numbers of the Highland insurgents, the strength of their position, the disappointment which he had met with in not being joined, as he expected, by any of the well-affected inhabitants of the country, and he asked the advice of his officers.

It was now too late to enquire, whether the march into the Highlands was at all a prudent measure, unless the English general had possessed such a predominant force, as to be certain of crushing the rebellion at once; or whether the forming a camp at Stirling, and preventing the Chevalier from crossing the Forth, while, at the same time, troops were sent by sea to raise the northern clans who were friendly to Government, in the rear of the Adventurer's little army, might not have been a preferable scheme. The time for option was ended. General Cope had proposed, and the Go-

vernment had sanctioned, the advance into the north, and the plan had been acted upon. Still it does not appear to have been necessary that Cope should have relinquished his purpose so meanly as was implied in the march, or rather flight, to Inverness, which so much dispirited his troops, and gave such enthusiastic courage to the insurgents. Indeed, no general in his senses would have attacked the defile of Corryarrack; but had Cope chosen to have encamped on the plain, about two miles to the south of Dalwhinnie, he could not have been forced to fight but on his own terms, with the full advantage of his artillery and his superior discipline, and Charles must have either given battle at a disadvantage, or suffered extremely by the want of money and provisions. Sir John, in the meantime, might have drawn his supplies from Athole, and would have overawed that highly disaffected district, the inhabitants of which, relieved from his presence by his march to Inverness, immediately joined the rebels. The superiority of the Highland army in

numbers was but trifling, and such as the discipline of regular troops had always been esteemed sufficient to compensate, although there is reason to think that it was greatly exaggerated to the English General. None of this reasoning seemed to influence the council of war; they gave it as their opinion that the troops should be drawn off to Inverness, instead of making a stand, or retiring to Stirling, although the option involved the certain risk of exposing the Low country to the insurgents.

Sir John Cope, having his motions thus sanctioned by the opinion of the council of war, advanced for a mile or two, on the morning of the 27th of August, in his original direction, till he reached the point where the road to Inverness leaves that which leads to Fort Augustus, when the march was suddenly altered, and the route to Inverness adopted.

The exultation which filled the Highlanders on learning Cope's retreat was of a most exuberant description; but it was mingled with disappointment, like that of hunters

whose prey has escaped them. There was a unanimous call to follow the retreating General with all dispatch, and compel him to fight. Cope had, indeed, some hours the start; but, in a council of Chiefs, it was proposed to march five hundred picked men across the country, to throw themselves by rapid marches between Inverness and the English general's forces, and detain the regulars until the rest of the army came up in their rear. The advantages to be gained by an unopposed march into the Lowlands were, however, superior to what could be obtained by the pursuit, or even the defeat, of Sir John Cope, and the latter plan was given up accordingly.

An attempt was made, on the part of the Highlanders, to surprise or burn the barracks of Ruthven ; but they were bravely defended by the little garrison, and the attempt proved unsuccessful. They therefore directed their march southward upon Garviemore.

In the meantime, the intrigues of Lord Lovat continued to agitate the North, while

the Lord President Forbes endeavoured, by soliciting Government for arms, by distributing commissions for independent companies, of which twenty were intrusted to his disposal, and by supplying money from his private purse, to animate the clans who remained attached to Government, and to confirm those which were doubtful.

The old chief of the clan Fraser, apparently seconding all his measures, was, in fact, counteracting them as far as he could, and endeavouring, if not to turn the scale in favour of the young Adventurer, at least to preserve the parties in such a state of equality, that he himself might have a chance of determining the balance, when he could see on which side there was most to be gained. He feared, however, the shrewd sense, steady loyalty, and upright character of the President, and regarded him with a singular mixture of internal fear and hatred, and external affected respect and observance. A jesuitical letter to Lochiel, in which Lovat alleges his fear of the

President, whom he states to be playing at *cat and mouse* with him, is, perhaps, the most extraordinary picture of this extraordinary person's mind that can be exhibited.*

The line of conduct to be adopted by MacPherson of Cluny, whose numerous and hardy clan is situated chiefly in the district of Badenoch, was at this time a matter of great importance. This chief was a man of a bold and intrepid disposition, who had shown more respect for the laws of property, and more attention to prevent depredations, than any other chief in the Highlands, Lochiel perhaps excepted. He entered into extensive contracts with the Duke of Gordon, and many of the principal proprietors in countries exposed to the Highland caterans, agreeing for a moderate sum of yearly blackmail, to secure them against theft. This species of engagement was often undertaken by persons like Rob Roy, who prosecuted the trade of a freebooter, and was in the habit of stealing at least as many

* See Note, end of Chapter, p. 291.

cattle as he was the means of recovering. But Cluny MacPherson pursued the plain and honourable system expressed in the letter of his contract, and by actually securing and bringing to justice the malefactors who committed the depredations, he broke up the greater part of the numerous gangs of robbers in the shires of Inverness and Aberdeen. So much was this the case, that when a clergyman began a sermon on the heinous nature of the crime of theft, an old Highlander of the audience replied, that he might forbear treating of the subject, since Cluny, with his broadsword, had done more to check it than all the ministers in the Highlands could do by their sermons.

This gentleman had been named captain of an independent company, and therefore remained, in appearance, a friend of Government; but, in fact, he only watched an opportunity to return to the allegiance of James VIII., whom he accounted his lawful sovereign. In compliance with his father-in-law Lovat's mysterious politics, Clu-

ny waited on Sir John Cope on the 27th of August, and received that general's orders to embody his clan. But on the next morning the chief of the MacPhersons was made prisoner in his own house, and carried off to the rebel camp. Whether he was entertained there as a captive, or as a secret friend, we have not now the means of knowing. He was conveyed along with the Highland army to Perth, seemingly by constraint.

On 28th August, the Prince bivouacked at Dalwhinnie, himself and his principal officers lying on the moor, with no other shelter than their plaids. On the 29th he reached Dalnacardoch, being thus enabled by the retreat of the English army to possess himself of the passes of the mountains between Badenoch and Athole, and to descend upon the latter country. On the 30th, Charles arrived at Blair in Athole, a castle belonging to the Duke of Athole, whose family, with his Grace's elder brother, Lord Tullibardin, and his uncle, Lord Nairne, were well disposed to the cause of

the Prince, though his Grace, who enjoyed the title, was favourable to Government The families and clans of Stewarts of Athole, Robertsons, and others of less importance. were all inclined to support the insurgents, having never forgotten the fame which their ancestors had obtained in a like cause during the wars of Montrose. The name and authority of the Marquis of Tullibardin was well calculated to call these ready warriors to arms. He was, as we have said, the elder brother of the Duke who enjoyed the title, and had been forfeited for his share in the rebellion of 1715,—a merit in the eyes of most of the vassals of his family.

The Prince remained two days at Blair, where he was joined by Viscount Strathallan and his son; by Mr Oliphant of Gask and his son; and the Honourable Mr Murray, brother to the Earl of Dunmore. John Roy Stewart, a most excellent partisan officer, also joined the Prince (to whom he had devoted his service,) at this place. He arrived from the Continent, and brought several

letters with him from persons of distinction abroad. They contained fair and flourishing promises of good wishes and services to be rendered, none of which civilities ever ripened into effectual assistance.

On the 3d of September, in the evening, the Highland army reached Perth, where it was joined by two persons of first-rate consequence; namely, the Duke of Perth, with two hundred men, whom he had collected while in hiding, in consequence of the warrant which was out for the purpose of arresting him, and the celebrated Lord George Murray, fifth brother of the Marquis of Tullibardin, already mentioned. Both these noblemen were created Lieutenant-generals in the Prince's service.

It was at this time, and upon this occasion, that a sort of jealousy took place between these two great men, which had a sinister effect upon the future affairs of Charles Edward.

We have already given the character of the Duke of Perth, as he was called, a gen-

tleman in the highest degree courtly, pleasing, and amiable, particularly calculated to be agreeable to a person educated abroad, like the Prince, and not likely to run the risk of displeasing him by rough admonition and blunt contradiction. All his habits and opinions had been formed in France, where he had spent the first twenty years of his life. He even spoke English with some marks of a foreigner, which he concealed under the use of the broad Scottish dialect. He was a man of the most undoubted courage, but had no peculiar military talent.

Lord George Murray was a man of original and powerful character. He had been engaged with his brother, the Marquis of Tullibardin, in the affair of 1715, was also present at the battle of Glenshiel, in 1719, and had served for some time in the Sardinian army, then no bad school of war. He had at a later period been reconciled to the reigning family, by the interest of his brother, the actual Duke of Athole. It is said, he had even solicited a commission in the English army. It was, however, refused;

and in 1745 he re-assumed his original sentiments, and joined Prince Charles Edward. Lord George Murray was in many respects an important acquisition. He was tall, hardy, and robust; and had that intuitive acquaintance with the art of war, which no course of tactics can teach. Being little instructed by early military education, he was unfettered by its formal rules; and perhaps in leading an army of Highlanders, themselves undisciplined, except from a sort of tact which seemed natural to them, he knew far better how to employ and trust their native energies than a tactician accustomed to regular troops would have ventured to attempt. He was, moreover, undauntedly brave, and in the habit of fighting sword-in-hand in the front of the battle; he slept little, meditated much, and was the only person in the Highland army who seemed to study the movements of the campaign. The chiefs only led their men to the attack in the field, and the French and Irish officers had been so indifferently selected, that their military knowledge did

not exceed the skill necessary to relieve a guard; and only one or two had served in a rank above that of captain. Over such men Lord George Murray had great superiority. He had, however, his failings, and they were chiefly those of temper and manners. He was proud of his superior talents, impatient of contradiction, and haughty and blunt in expressing his opinions.

It happened also not unfrequently, that the Prince himself and his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, both extremely ignorant of the British constitution and habits of thinking, suffered sentiments of arbitrary power to escape them, as impolitic as they were ungracious. In checking and repelling such opinions, Lord George Murray did a most valuable service to his master; but the manner in which he performed a task necessarily unpleasing was often rude and assuming, and with the best intentions he gave offence, which was not the less sensibly felt by the Prince, that his situation obliged him to suppress all outward indication of his displeasure.

From this peculiarity of Lord George Murray's temper, there was early formed in the Prince's council a party who set up the Duke of Perth in opposition to him; although the gentle, honourable, and candid temper of the duke mitigated the animosity of the internal faction. John Murray, the secretary, who, having been the early agent of Prince Charles's party, possessed a great share of his master's confidence, was supposed to have been chiefly desirous of setting the claims of the Duke of Perth in opposition to those of Lord George Murray, as he considered the former a person over whom his own ambitious and active disposition might preserve an influence, which he could not hope to gain over the haughty and confident temper of the latter nobleman. Mr Murray is supposed chiefly to have insisted upon Lord George's having taken the oaths to government, and having been willing to serve the House of Hanover. By these insinuations he impressed on the Prince a shade of suspicion towards the general, who was the most capable of direct-

ng the movements of his army, which was never entirely eradicated from his mind, even while he most felt the value of Lord George Murray's services. Charles's high idea of the devotion due to his rights by his subjects, rendered him jealous of the fidelity of a follower, who had not at all times been a pure royalist, or who had shown any inclination, however transitory, to make his own peace by a compromise with the reigning family. The disunion arising from these intrigues had an existence even at Perth, in the very commencement of their enterprise, and continued till the very end of the affair to vex and perplex the councils of the insurgents.

On his arrival at Perth also, the Chevalier first found the want of money, which has been well called the sinews of war. When he entered that town, he showed one of his followers that his purse contained only a single guinea of the four hundred pounds which he had brought with him in the Douelle. But Dundee, Montrose, and all the

Lowland towns north of the Tay, as far as Inverness, were now at his command. He proceeded to levy the cess and public revenue in name of his father; and as such of his adherents, who were too old or timid to join the standard, sent in contributions of money according to their ability, his military chest was by these resources tolerably supplied. Parties were sent for this purpose to Dundee, Aberbrothwick, Montrose, and other towns. They proclaimed King James VIII., but committed little violence except opening the prisons; and it is remarkable, that even in my own time, a chieftain of high rank had to pay a large sum of money on account of his ancestors having set at liberty a prisoner who was detained for a considerable amount of debt.

It was no less necessary to brigade the men assembled under this adventurous standard. This was, however, easily done, for the Highlanders were familiar with a species of manœuvring exactly suited to their own irregular tactics. They marched in a column of three abreast, and could

vheel up with prompt regularity, in order o form the line, or rather succession of lan columns, in which it was their fashion o charge. They were accustomed also to arry their arms with habitual ease, and andle them with ready promptitude; to re with a precise aim, and to charge with igour, trusting to their national weapons, he broadsword and target, with which the rst rank of every clan, being generally gen-lemen, was completely armed. They were, herefore, as well prepared for the day of attle as could be expected from them; and s there was no time to instruct them in nore refined manœuvres, Lord George Mur-ay judiciously recommended to the Prince o trust to those which seemed naturally heir own. Some modelling and discipline vas, however, resorted to, so far as the short nterval would permit.

The time which Charles Edward could llot to supply his finances, arrange the ampaign, and discipline his army, was nly from the 4th to the 11th of Septem-

ber; for he had already adopted the daring resolution to give eclat to his arms, by taking possession of the Scottish capital, and was eager to advance upon it ere Sir John Cope could with his forces return from the north for its defence.

NOTE.

LETTER FROM LORD LOVAT TO THE LAIRD OF LOCHIEL.

[This letter is expressed with so much display of character, as might excite a suspicion that it is an imitation of what Lovat might be supposed to think on the occasion, rather than a genuine document. I have seen the original, however, and compared it with Lovat's undoubted handwriting, and it bears no other difference than an appearance of compression and tremulousness natural at his advanced age.]

"FOR

"THE LAIRD OF LOCHIEL.

"THESE,

"*Sept.* 1745.

"DEAR LOCHIEL,

"I FEAR you have been our rash in going out ere affairs were ripe. You are in a dangerous state. The Elector's General Cope is in your rear hanging at y^r tail w^h 3000 men,—such as have not been seen heir since Dundee's affair,—and we have no force to meet him. If the Macphersons w^d take the field, I w^d bring out my lads to help the work, and 'twixt the twa we might cause Cope keep his Xmas heir; bot only Cluny is earnest in the cause, and my Lord Advocat plays at cat-and-mouse w^h me; but

times may change, and I may bring him to the Saint Johnstoun's tippet. Meantime look to yrselves, for ye may expect many a sour face and sharp weapon in the south. I'll aid you what I can, but my prayers are all I can give at present. My service to the Prince, but I wish he had not come heir soe empty-handed; siller wd go far in the Highlands. I send ys be Ewan Ffraser, wm I have charged to give it to yr self, for, were Duncan to find it, it wd be my head to an onion.

"Farewell,

"Yr faithfull friend,

"LOVAT."

CHAP. VIII.

Preparations for Defending Edinburgh against Prince Charles, who Marches from Perth—Confusion occasioned by his Approach to Edinburgh—Pusillanimity of the Volunteers—Flight of two Regiments of Dragoons by which the City was Covered—Consternation of the Citizens—Negotiations between the Magistrates and the Prince—The City Captured by a Party under Lochiel—Prince Charles takes possession of the Palace of Holyrood—Appearance of his Army—he is Joined by the Jacobites of the Lothians.

EDINBURGH had long been a peaceful capital; little accustomed to the din of arms, and considerably divided by factions, as was the case of other towns in Scotland. The rumours from the Highlands had sounded like distant thunder during a serene day, for no one seemed disposed to give credit to the danger as seriously approaching. The

unexpected intelligence, that General Cope had marched to Inverness, and left the metropolis in a great measure to its own resources, excited a very different and more deep sensation, which actuated the inhabitants variously, according to their political sentiments. The Jacobites, who were in considerable numbers, hid their swelling hopes under the cover of ridicule and irony, with which they laboured to interrupt every plan which was adopted for the defence of the town. The truth was, that in a military point of view there was no town, not absolutely defenceless, which was worse protected than Edinburgh. The spacious squares and streets of the New Town had then, and for a long time after, no existence, the city being strictly limited to its original boundaries, established as early as the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It had defences, but they were of a singularly antique and insufficient character. A high and solid wall enclosed the city from the West Port to the Potterrow Port. It was embattled, but the parapet was too narrow

for mounting cannon, and, except upon one or two points, the wall neither exhibited redoubt, turret, or re-entering angle, from which the curtain or defensive line might be flanked or defended. It was merely an ordinary park-wall of uncommon height and strength, of which you may satisfy yourself by looking at such of its ruins as still remain. The wall ran eastward to what is called the South Back of the Canongate, and then, turning northward, ascended the ridge on which the town is built, forming the one side of a suburb called Saint Mary's Wynd, where it was covered by houses built upon it from time to time, besides being within a few feet of the other side of the wynd, which is narrow, and immediately in its front. In this imperfect state the defence reached the Netherbow Port, which divided the city from the Canongate. From this point the wall ran down Leith Wynd, and terminated at the hospital called Paul's Work, connecting itself on that point with the North, or Nor' Loch, so

called because it was on the northern side of the city, and its sole defence on that quarter.

The nature of the defensive protections must, from this sketch, be judged extremely imperfect; and the quality of the troops by which resistance must have been made good, if it should be seriously thought upon, was scarce better suited to the task. The town's people, indeed, such as were able to bear arms, were embodied under the name of Trained Bands, and had firelocks belonging to them, which were kept in the town's magazines. They amounted nominally to sixteen companies, of various strength, running between eighty and a hundred men each. This would have been a formidable force, had their discipline and good will corresponded to their numbers. But, for many years, the officers of the Trained Bands had practised no other martial discipline, than was implied in a particular mode of flourishing their wine-glasses on festive occasions; and it was well understood that, if these mi-

itia were called on, a number of them were ikely enough to declare for Prince Charles, ınd a much larger proportion would be unvilling to put their persons and property n danger, for either the one or the other ide of the cause. The only part of the civic lefenders of Edinburgh who could at all e trusted, was the small body of foot called the City-guard, whom we have already een make some figure in the affair of Porteous. The two regiments of dragoons, vhich General Cope had left behind him or the protection of the Lowlands, were he only regular troops.

Yet, though thus poorly provided for deence, there was a natural reluctance on the art of the citizens of Edinburgh, who were n general friendly to government, to yield p their ancient metropolis without even n effort at defence, to a few hundred wild ısurgents from the Highlands. So early s the 27th of August, when it was known ı the capital that the regular troops had ıarched to Inverness, and that the Highınders were directing their march on the

Lowlands, a meeting of the friends of government was held, at which it was resolved that the city should be put in a state of defence, its fortifications repaired or improved, as well as time would permit, and a regiment of a thousand men raised by general subscription among the inhabitants. This spirit of resistance was considerably increased by the arrival of Captain Rogers, aid-de-camp to General Cope, who came from Inverness by sea, with directions that a number of transports, lying then at Leith, should be dispatched, without loss of time, for Aberdeen. He announced that General Cope was to march his troops from Inverness to Aberdeen, and embark them at the latter seaport, by the means which he was now providing for that purpose. The General, he stated, would with his army thus return to Lothian by sea, in time, as he hoped, for the safety of the city.

These tidings highly excited the zeal of those who had thus voted for defending the capital. As the regiment which had been voted could not be levied without the express

varrant of government, several citizens, to he number of an hundred, petitioned to be ermitted to enrol themselves as volunteers or the defence of the city. Their numbers oon increased. At length, on the 11th September, six companies were appointed, and fficers named to them. In the meantime, ortifications were added to the walls, under he scientific direction of the celebrated M'-aurin, Professor of Mathematics in the Jniversity of Edinburgh. The volunteers vere taught with all possible speed the most ecessary parts of military discipline; canon were also mounted on the walls, chiefly btained from the shipping at Leith. The vhole city rung with the din of preparation; nd much seemed to depend on the event of struggle for time. The party which was ppermost for the moment, expressed their ager wishes and hopes for General Cope's rrival from Aberdeen; while those who oped soon to change positions with them, vhispered to each other in secret their opes that the English General would be

anticipated by the arrival of the Highland army.

In the meantime, Charles Edward, having stopped at Perth only long enough to collect some money, refresh and regulate his army, and receive a few supplies of men, proceeded on his venturous march on the 11th September. His manifestoes, in his father's name and his own, had already announced his purpose of remedying all the grievances of which the nation could complain. Among these the dissolution of the Union was proposed as a principal object of reformation. It certainly continued to be felt as a grievance by many of the country gentlemen in Scotland, whose importance it had greatly diminished; but the commercial part of the nation had begun to be sensible of its advantages, and were not greatly captivated by the proposed dissolution of the national treaty, which had so much enlarged their sources of foreign traffic. Another proclamation was issued, in answer to one which had set the price of L.30,000 upon

the Adventurer's head. He should reply to this, he said, by a similar announcement, but in confidence that no adherent of his would ever think of doing any thing to merit such a reward. Accordingly, he published a reward for the Elector of Hanover's person. Charles's original idea was to limit the sum offered to L.30, but it was ultimately extended to the same amount which had been placed upon his own.

On the evening of the 17th, the Chevalier reached Dunblane with the vanguard of his army, or rather detachments of the best men of every clan. It was found very difficult to remove the others from the good quarters and provisions of Perth, which were superior to what they had to expect on a march. The Fords of Frew, situated on the Forth about eight miles above Stirling, which the Earl of Mar, with a much more numerous army of Highlanders, had in vain attempted to cross, formed no obstacle to the advance of their present more adventurous leader. The great drought,

which prevailed that year, and which in Scotland is generally most severe towards the end of autumn, made it easy to cross the river. Gardiner's regiment of dragoons, which had been left at Stirling, offered no opposition to the enemy, but retreated to Linlithgow, to interpose betwixt the Highlanders and Edinburgh,—a retrograde movement, which had a visible effect on the spirits of the soldiers.

In the meantime, the confusion in the capital was greatly increased by the near approach of the insurgent army. The volunteers had at no time amounted to more than about four hundred men, a small proportion of the population of the city, sufficiently indicating that the far greater majority of the inhabitants were lukewarm, and probably a great many positively disaffected to the cause of government. Of those also who had taken arms, many had done so merely to show a zeal for the cause, which they never expected would be brought to a serious test; others had wives and families, houses and occupations, which they

were, when it came to the push, loath to put in hazard for any political consideration. The citizens also entertained a high idea of the desperate courage of the Highlanders, and a dreadful presentiment of the outrages which a people so wild were likely to commit, if they should succeed, which appeared likely, in forcing their way into the town. Still, however, there were many young students, and others at that period of life when honour is more esteemed than life, who were willing, and even eager, to prosecute their intentions of resistance and defence.

The corps of volunteers, being summoned together, were informed that Gardiner's dragoons, having continued to retreat before the enemy, were now at Corstorphine, a village within three miles of the city; and that the van of the rebels had reached Kirkliston, a little town about six or seven miles farther to the west. In these critical circumstances, General Guest, lieutenant-governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, submitted to the corps of volunteers, that instead of waiting to be attacked within a town which their num-

bers were inadequate to defend, they should second an offensive movement which he designed to make in front of the city, in order to protect it, by an instant battle. For this purpose he proposed that the second regiment of dragoons, called Hamilton's, should march from Leith, where they were encamped, and form a junction with Gardiner's at Corstorphine; and that they should be supported by the volunteer corps of four hundred men. The provost, having agreed to this proposal, offered, after some hesitation, that ninety of the City-guard, whom he reckoned the best troops at his disposal, should march out with the armed citizens. Mr Drummond, an active officer of the volunteers, and who displayed more than usual zeal, harangued the armed association. The most spirited shouted with sincere applause, and by far the greater part followed their example. Out of the whole volunteers, about two hundred and fifty were understood to pledge themselves to the execution of the proposed movement in advance of the

city. The sound of the fire-bell was appointed as the signal for the volunteers to muster in the Lawnmarket. In the meantime, orders were sent to Hamilton's dragoons to march through the city on their way to Corstorphine. The parade and display of these disciplined troops would, it was thought, add spirit to the raw soldiers.

The following day was Sunday, the 15th of September. The fire-bell, an ominous and ill-chosen signal, tolled for assembling the volunteers, and so alarming a sound, during the time of divine service, dispersed those assembled for worship, and brought out a large crowd of the inhabitants to the street. The dragoon regiment appeared, equipped for battle. They huzza'd and clashed their swords at sight of the volunteers, their companions in peril, of which neither party were destined that day to see much. But other sounds expelled these warlike greetings from the ears of the civic soldiers. The relatives of the volunteers crowded around them, weeping, protesting, and conjuring

them not to expose lives so invaluable to their families to the broadswords of the savage Highlanders. There is nothing of which men, in general, are more easily persuaded, than of the extreme value of their own lives; nor are they apt to estimate them more lightly, when they see they are highly prized by others. A sudden change of opinion took place among the body. In some companies, the men said that their officers would not lead them on; in others, the officers said that the privates would not follow them. An attempt to march the corps towards the West Port, which was their destined route for the field of battle, failed. The regiment moved, indeed, but the files grew gradually thinner and thinner as they marched down the Bow and through the Grassmarket, and not above forty-five reached the West Port. A hundred more were collected with some difficulty, but it seems to have been under a tacit condition, that the march to Corstorphine should be abandoned; for out of the city not one of

them issued. The volunteers were led back to their alarm post, and dismissed for the evening, when a few of the most zealous left the town, the defence of which began no longer to be expected, and sought other fields in which to exercise their valour.

In the meantime, their less warlike comrades were doomed to hear of the near approach of the Highland clans. On the morning of Monday, a person named Alves, who pretended to have approached the rebel army by accident, but who was, perhaps, in reality, a favourer of their cause, brought word that he had seen the Duke of Perth, to whom he was personally known, and had received a message to the citizens of Edinburgh, informing them, that if they opened their gates, the town should be favourably treated, but if they attempted resistance, they might lay their account with military execution; "and he concluded," said Alves, "by addressing a young man by the title of Royal Highness, and desiring to know if

such was not his pleasure." This message, which was publicly delivered, struck additional terror into the inhabitants, who petitioned the provost to call a general meeting of the citizens, the only purpose of which must have increased the confusion in their councils. Provost Stewart refused to convoke such a meeting. The town was still covered by two regiments of dragoons. Colonel Gardiner, celebrated for his private worth, his bravery, and his devotional character, was now in command of Hamilton's regiment, as well as his own, when he was suddenly superseded by General Fowkes, who had been sent from London by sea, and arrived on the night of the 15th of September.

Early the next morning, the new general drew up the dragoons near the north end of the Colt Bridge, which crosses the Water of Leith, about two miles from Corstorphine, from which last village the Highlanders were now advancing. On their van coming in sight of the regulars, a few of the

mounted gentlemen who had joined the insurgents were dispatched to reconnoitre. As this party rode up, and fired their pistols at the dragoons, after the usual manner of skirmishers, a humiliating spectacle ensued. The soldiers, without returning a shot, fell into such disorder, that their officers were compelled to move them from the ground, with the purpose of restoring their ranks. But no sooner did the two regiments find themselves in retreat, than it became impossible to halt or form them. Their panic increased their speed from a trot to a gallop, and the farther they got even from the very appearance of danger, the more excessive seemed to be their panic. Galloping in the greatest confusion round the base of the Castle, by what were called the Lang Dykes, they pursued their disorderly course along the fields where the New Town is now built, in full view of the city and its inhabitants, whose fears were reasonably enough raised to extremity, at seeing the shameful flight of the regular soldiers, whose

business it was to fight—a poor example to those who were only to take up the deadly trade as amateurs. Even at Leith, to which, as they had last encamped there, they returned by a kind of instinct, those recreant horsemen could only be halted for a few minutes. Ere their minds had recovered from their perturbation, some one raised a cry that the Highlanders were at hand; and the retreat was renewed. They halted a second time near Prestonpans, but, receiving a third alarm from one of their own men falling into a waste coal-pit, the race was again resumed in the darkness of the night, and the dragoons only stopped at Dunbar, North Berwick, and other towns on the coast; none of them, at the same time, able to render a reason why they fled, or to tell by whom they were pursued.

In Edinburgh the citizens were driven to a kind of desperation of terror. Crowds gathered on the streets and surrounded the provost, entreating him to give up all thoughts of defending the town, which would

have been indeed an impossibility after the scandalous retreat of the dragoons. Whatever the provost might think of the condition of the city, he maintained a good countenance; and convoking a meeting of the magistracy, sent for the Justice-Clerk, the Lord Advocate, and Solicitor-General, to come and partake their councils. But these functionaries had wisely left the city when the danger of its falling into the hands of the rebels became so very imminent. In the meantime, other citizens, uninvited, intruded themselves into the place where the council was held, which speedily assumed the appearance of a disorderly crowd, most part of whom were clamorous for surrender. Many of the loudest were Jacobites, who took that mode of serving the Prince's cause.

While the council was in this state of confusion, a letter, subscribed Charles Stewart, P. R., was handed into the meeting, but the provost would not permit it to be opened, which gave rise to a furious debate. The volunteers, in the meantime, were drawn

up on the street, amid the same clamour and consternation which filled the council. They received no orders from the provost, nor from any one else. At this juncture, a man, who was never discovered, mounted on a grey horse, rode along the front of their line, calling out, to the great augmentation of the general alarm, that the Highlanders were just at hand, and were sixteen thousand strong! The unlucky volunteers, disheartened, and in a great measure deserted, resolved at length to disembody themselves, and to return their arms to the King's magazine in the Castle. The muskets were received there accordingly, and the volunteers might be considered as disbanded as well as disarmed. If some wept at parting with their arms, we believe the greater part were glad to be fairly rid of the encumbrance.

In the interim the letter with the alarming signature was at length read in the council, and was found to contain a summons to surrender the city, under a promise of safety to the immunities of the corporation,

nd the property of individuals. The con-
lusion declared, that the Prince would not
e responsible for the consequences if he
vere reduced to enter the city by force, and
hat such of the inhabitants as he found in
rms against him must not expect to be
reated as prisoners of war.

The perusal of this letter increased the
ry against resistance, which, indeed, the
light of the dragoons, and dispersion of the
olunteers, rendered altogether impossible,
he armed force being reduced to the City-
uard, and a few recruits of the newly-rai-
ed Edinburgh regiment. It was at length
greed on, by general consent, to send a de-
utation of the council to wait on the young
Prince at Gray's Mill, within two miles of
he city; they were instructed to require a
uspension of hostilities until they should
ave time to deliberate on the letter which
ad been forwarded to them.

The deputation had not long set forth on
s destination, when one of those turns of
ortune which so unexpectedly threaten to

derange the most profound calculations of human prudence, induced many of the citizens to wish that the step of communicating with the rebels had been delayed. Intelligence arrived, acquainting the magistrates and council, that Sir John Cope's army had arrived in the transports from Aberdeen, and that the fleet was seen off Dunbar, where the general intended to land his troops, and move instantly to the relief of Edinburgh. A messenger was sent to recall the deputation, but he proved unable to overtake them. General Guest was resorted to with various proposals. He was asked to recall the dragoons; but replied, he considered it better for the service that they should join General Cope. The more zealous citizens then requested a new issue of arms to the volunteers; but General Guest seems to have been unwilling to place them again in irresolute hands; he said the magistrates might arm those whom they could trust from the city's magazine. Still, as it appeared that a day's time gained might

save the city, there were proposals to resume the purpose of defence, at least for the time which Cope's march from Dunbar was likely to occupy. It was therefore proposed to beat to arms, ring the fire-bell, and reassemble the volunteers, schemes which were abandoned as soon as moved, for it was remembered that the deputation of the magistrates and councillors were in the power of the Highlandmen, who, on the sound of an alarm in the town, were likely enough to hang them without ceremony.

About ten o'clock at night the deputation returned, with an answer to the same purpose with the previous summons, demanding, at the same time, a positive reply before two in the morning. The deliberations of the magistrates were farther embroiled by this peremptory demand of instant surrender, which made them aware that the insurgents were as sensible as they could be of the value of hours and minutes in a discussion so critical. They could think of nothing better than to send out a second

deputation to Gray's Mill, with instructions to entreat for farther time. It is important to state, that this party went to the Highland head-quarters in a hackney-coach. The Prince refused to see them, and dismissed them without an answer.

In the meantime, the Chevalier and his counsellors agitated several plans for carrying the city by a sudden surprise. There was more than one point which gave facilities for such a *coup-de-main.* A house belonging to a gentleman of the name of Nicolson stood on the outside of the town-wall, only a few feet distant from it, and very near the Potterrow Port. It was proposed to take possession of this house, and, after clearing the wall by a fire of musketry from the upper windows, either to attempt an escalade, or to run a mine under the fortification. At the same time, the position of the hospital called Paul's Work was favourably situated to cover an attack on the main sluice of the North Loch. The College Church gave ready means of gaining the hospital; and an alarm on the northern termination

f the wall would have afforded a point of liversion, while the main attack might be nade by means of the row of houses in St Mary's Wynd, composing the western side f that lane, and actually built upon, and orming part of the wall, which in that place vas merely a range of buildings. Such were he points of assault which might be stormed simultaneously, and with the greater prospect of success, that their defenders were deficient both in numbers and courage.

With these and similar views, the Chevalier ordered Lochiel to get his men under arms, so as to be ready, if the magistrates did not surrender at the appointed hour of two in the morning, to make an attack on either of the points we have mentioned, or take any other opportunity that might occur of entering the city; Mr Murray of Broughton, who was familiar with all the localities of Edinburgh, acting as a guide to the Camerons. The party amounted to about five hundred men. The strictest caution was recommended to them in marching,

and they were enjoined to rigid abstinence from spirituous liquors. At the same time, each man was promised a reward of two shillings, if the enterprise was successful. Colonel O'Sullivan was with the party as quarter-master. The detachment marched round by Merchiston and Hope's Park, without being observed from the Castle, though they could hear the watches call the rounds within that fortress. Approaching the Netherbow Port, Lochiel and Murray reconnoitred the city-wall more closely, and found it planted with cannon, but without sentinels. They could, therefore, have forced an entrance by any of the houses in St Mary's Wynd; but having strict orders to observe the utmost caution, Lochiel hesitated to resort to actual violence till they should have final commands to do so. In the meantime, Lochiel sent forward one of his people, disguised in a riding coat and hunting cap, with orders to request admission by the Netherbow Port. This man was to personate the servant of an English officer

of dragoons, and in that character to call for admittance. An advanced guard of twenty Camerons were ordered to place themselves on each side of the gate; a support of sixty men were stationed in deep silence in St Mary's Wynd; and the rest of the detachment remained at some distance, near the foot of the lane. It was Lochiel's purpose that the gate, if opened, should have been instantly secured by the forlorn-hope of his party. The watch, however, (for there were sentinels at the gate, though none on the city-wall,) refused to open the gate, threatened to fire on the man who desired admittance, and thus compelled him to withdraw.

It was now proposed by Murray, that as the morning was beginning to break, the detachment should retire to the craggy ground called Saint Leonard's Hill, where they would be secure from the cannon of the Castle, and there await for further orders. Just when the detachment was about to retreat, an accident happened which gra-

tified them with an unexpected opportunity of entrance.

I have told you of a second deputation sent out by the magistrates, to entreat from the Chevalier additional time to deliberate upon his summons, which he refused to grant, declining even to see the messengers. These deputies returned into the city long after midnight, in the hackney-coach which had carried them to the rebel camp. They entered at the West Port, and left the coach after they had ascended the Bow and reached the High-street. The hackney-coachman, who had his own residence and his stables in the Canongate, was desirous to return to that suburb through the Netherbow Port, which then closed the head of the Canongate. The man was known to the waiters, or porters, as having been that night engaged in the service of the magistrates, and, as a matter of course, they opened the gate to let him go home. The leaves of the gate had no sooner unfolded themselves, than the Ca-

nerons rushed in, and secured and disarmed he few watchmen. With the same ease they eized on the city guard-house, disarming uch soldiers as they found there.

Colonel O'Sullivan dispatched parties to he other military posts and gates about the ity, two of which were occupied with the ame ease, and without a drop of blood be-ng spilt. The Camerons, in the dawn of norning, were marched up to the Cross, vhen the Castle, now alarmed with the news of what had happened, fired a shot or two expressive of defiance. These warlike sounds vaked such of the citizens of Edinburgh as he tumult of the Highlanders' entrance had not yet roused, and many with deep anxie-y, and others with internal exultation, ound that the capital was in the hands of he insurgents.

Much noisy wonder was expressed at the ame surrender of the metropolis of Scot-and to the rebels; and, as if it had been necessary to find a scape-goat to bear the disgrace and blame of the transaction, a

great proportion of both was imputed to the Lord Provost Stewart, who, after a long and severe imprisonment, was brought to trial for high treason, and although he was honourably acquitted, his name was often afterwards mentioned in a manner as if his judicial acquittal had not been sanctioned by the public voice. There is no room to enquire of what cast were Provost Stewart's general politics, or how far, even from the mere circumstance of namesake, he was to be accounted a Jacobite. Neither is the chief magistrate of a corporation to be condemned to death as a traitor, because he does not possess those attributes of heroism, by means of which some gifted individuals have raised means of defence when hope seemed altogether lost, and, by their own energies and example, have saved communities and states, which were, in the estimation of all others, doomed to despair. The question is, whether Provost Stewart, as an upright and honourable man, sought the best advice in an exigency so singular,

nd exerted himself assiduously to carry it nto execution when received? The flight f the dragoons, the disbanding of the vo- unteers, the discontinuance of the defence, eceived no encouragement from him; even he opening a communication with the ene- ny was none of his fault, since he was ne of the last who either despaired of pre- erving the city, or used discouraging lan- uage to the citizens. But he could not in- pire panic-struck soldiers with courage, or elfish burghers with patriotic devotion, and, ike a man who fights with a broken weapon, vas unequal to maintain the cause which o all appearance he seems to have been incere in defending.

The Highlanders, amid circumstances so ew and stimulating to them as attended the apture of Edinburgh, behaved themselves vith the utmost order and propriety. The nhabitants, desirous to conciliate their new nasters, brought them provisions, and even whisky; but having been enjoined by Loch- el not to taste the latter spirits, they un-

animously rejected a temptation which besets them strongly. They remained where they were posted, in the Parliament-Square, from five in the morning till eleven in the forenoon, without a man leaving his post, though in a city taken, it may be said, by storm, and surrounded with an hundred objects to excite their curiosity, or awaken their cupidity. They were then quartered in the Outer Parliament-House.

About noon on this important day, (the 17th of September,) Charles Edward prepared to take possession of the palace and capital of his ancestors.

It was at that time, when, winding his march round by the village of Duddingston, to avoid the fire of the Castle, he halted in the hollow between Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags. As Charles approached the palace by the eastern access, called the Duke's Walk, he called for his horse, as if to show himself to the populace, who assembled in great numbers, and with loud

cclamations. The young Adventurer had egun his march on foot, but the immense rowd with which he was surrounded, many f whom pressed to touch his clothes, or iss his hand, almost threw him down. He gain mounted his charger as he approached he palace, having on his right the Duke of Perth, on his left Lord Elcho, the eldest son f the Earl of Wemyss, who had joined him few days before, and followed by a conourse of chiefs and gentlemen. The personl appearance of the Chevalier was as prepossessing, as the daring character and romantic circumstances of his enterprise were alculated to excite the imagination. His oble mien, graceful manners, and ready ourtesy, seemed to mark him no unworthy ompetitor for a crown. His dress was naional. A short tartan coat, a blue bonnet with a white rose, and the order and emblem f the thistle, seemed all chosen to identify imself with the ancient nation he summond to arms; and, upon the whole, so far as

acclamations and signs of joy could express it, he was so favourably received, that none of his followers doubted that he might levy a thousand men in the streets of Edinburgh, in half an hour, if he could but find arms to equip them.

But they who were able to look beyond the mere show and clamour, discerned symptoms of inward weakness in the means by which the Chevalier was to execute his weighty undertaking. The Duinhéwassels, or gentlemen of the clans, were, indeed, martially attired in the full Highland dress, with the various arms which appertain to that garb, which, in full equipment, comprehends a firelock, a broadsword, dirk and target, a pair of pistols, and a short knife, used occasionally as a poniard. But such complete appointments fell to the lot of but few of the followers of the Prince. Most were glad to be satisfied with a single weapon, a sword, dirk, or pistol. Nay, in spite of all evasions of the Disarming Act, it had been so far effectual, that several

Highlanders were only armed with scythe-blades, set straight on the handle, and some with only clubs or cudgels. As arms were scarce among the Highlanders, so the scanty and ill-clothed appearance of the poorer amongst them gave them an appearance at once terrible and wretched. Indeed many were of the opinion of an old friend of your Grandfather's, who, as he looked on a set of haggard and fierce-looking men, some wanting coats, some lacking hose and shoes, some having their hair tied back with a leathern strap, without bonnet or covering of any kind, could not help observing, that they were a proper set of ragamuffins with which to propose to overturn an established government.* On the whole, they wanted that regularity and uniformity of appearance, which, in our eye, distinguishes regular

* My friend, who was the Jonathan Oldbuck of the Antiquary, made his observation rather at an ill-chosen place and time, in consequence of which he was nearly brought to trouble.

soldiers from banditti; and their variety of weapons, fierceness of aspect, and sinewy limbs, combined with a martial look and air proper to a people whose occupation was arms, gave them a peculiarly wild and barbarous appearance.

The Prince had been joined by many persons of consequence since he reached Lothian. Lord Elcho has already been mentioned. He was a man of high spirit and sound sense, but no Jacobite in the bigoted sense of the word; that is, no devoted slave to the doctrines of hereditary right or passive obedience. He brought with him five hundred pounds on the part of his father, Lord Wemyss, who was too old to take the field in person. This was an acceptable gift in the state of the Prince's finances. Sir Robert Threipland had also joined him as he approached Edinburgh; and by the private information which he brought from his friends in that city, had determined him to persevere in the attack which proved so successful.

The Earl of Kelly, Lord Balmerino, Lock-
hart, the younger of Carnwath, Graham,
younger of Airth, Rollo, younger of Pow-
burn, Hamilton of Bangour, a poet of con-
siderable merit, Sir David Murray, and
other gentlemen of distinction, had also
joined the standard.

Amongst these, James Hepburn of Keith,
son of that Robert Hepburn, respecting
whose family a remarkable anecdote is men-
tioned at page 245th of the first volume,
and whose escape from Newgate is narrated
at page 72d of the second volume, distin-
guished himself by the manner in which he
devoted himself to the cause of Charles Ed-
ward. As the Prince entered the door of the
palace of Holyrood, this gentleman stepped
from the crowd, bent his knee before him in
testimony of homage, and, rising up, drew
his sword, and, walking before him, mar-
shalled him the way into the palace of his
ancestors. Hepburn bore the highest cha-
racter as the model of a true Scottish gen-
tleman. He, like Lord Elcho, disclaimed the

slavish principles of the violent Jacobites, but, conceiving his country wronged, and the gentry of Scotland degraded by the Union, he, in this romantic manner, dedicated his sword to the service of the Prince who offered to restore him to his rights. Mr John Home, whose heart sympathised with acts of generous devotion, from whatever source they flowed, feelingly observes, that "the best Whigs regretted that this accomplished gentleman—the model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour—should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of the independence of Scotland." I am enabled to add, that, after having impaired his fortune, and endangered his life repeatedly, in this ill-fated cause, Mr Hepburn became convinced that, in the words of Scripture, he had laboured a vain thing. He repeatedly said in his family circle, that, had he known, as the after progress of the expedition showed him, that a very great majority of the nation were satisfied with the existing government, he would never have drawn sword against his

ellow-subjects, or aided to raise a civil war, merely to replace the Stewart dynasty.*

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* A hereditary intimacy with the late Lieutenant-Colonel Hepburn, (son of Mr Hepburn of Keith,) and the friendship of the members of his surviving family, enable me to make this assertion. No doubt there were many of the more liberal and intelligent Jacobites who entertained similar sentiments, and conceived that, in furthering the cause of the Prince, they were asserting the rights of the country.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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